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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 2, January 1985

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USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 2, January 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1905-1907 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85) pp 3-6

[CPSU Central Committee decree]

[Text] The 80th anniversary of the outbreak of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution--the first people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism--will be marked in January 1985. This revolution awakened to political life the broadest possible masses of workers and peasants and the other population strata, marking the beginning of a new historical period--the period of profound social upheavals and revolutionary battles. Despite its defeat, it weakened the foundations of the autocratic-landowners' system and, in V. I. Lenin's definition, was a "dress rehearsal" for the Great October.

The First Russian Revolution was prepared by the entire course of economic and political development of the country on the watershed between two centuries. The objective requirements of socioeconomic development irreconcilably clashed with the obsolete political superstructure. On the eve of the revolution, these contradictions were aggravated to the extreme by the defeat in the war with Japan. They were worsened by the political, spiritual and national oppression exercised by tsarism and the domination of foreign monopoly capital, which triggered the increasingly active counteraction of the working people. The working class, inspired and led by its battle vanguard--the Bolshevik Party--entered the arena of open political struggle. The peasant movement spread. The peasantry demanded the elimination of landed estates and other vestiges of serfdom in the countryside.

Russia became the center of contradictions within imperialism and its weakest link. Objective conditions and subjective prerequisites for a revolution developed within it. The center of the global revolutionary movement shifted here.

The 1905-1907 Revolution became part of history as a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. For the first time in history the working class, the leader of all toiling masses, assumed the hegemony. Although bourgeois-democratic in terms of socioeconomic content, the revolution was proletarian in terms of the means and methods of struggle.

With the leading role of the working class, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the other nonproletarian toiling strata developed in the fire of the revolution. Revolutionary activities in the army and navy intensified. The growing national liberation movement joined the common stream of democratic forces. Together with their Russian brothers, workers and peasants in the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic area, the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and other national regions joined in the struggle against tsarism. Led by the bolsheviks, the Russian working class raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism, organizing a united front of struggle waged by the working people of all nationalities against social and national oppression. "1905," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "rallied the workers of all nations in Russia."

The Bolshevik Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, a party of a new type, which was practically combining revolutionary theory with the labor movement, was in the vanguard of the liberation struggle. The 1905-1907 Revolution was the first revolution in world history in which a Marxist party acted as an independent political force with its own program, and clearly developed strategy and tactics. Firmly relying on the toiling masses and expressing their expectations and aspirations, the party politically educated and tempered them in the course of the class battles and rallied them around the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin's creative genius as the great theoretician and leader of the proletariat was revealed in the course of the revolution. Waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and opportunism, he defended and developed Marxism in terms of the new historical conditions. Lenin's ideas on the characteristics of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism, its motive forces and ways of developing into a socialist revolution and on the hegemony of the proletariat and the strategy of class alliances, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, the creation of a provisional revolutionary government, the ways of resolving the agrarian and national problems and the leading role of the proletarian party of a new type as the most important prerequisite for the victory of the revolution marked a new stage in the development of Marxist doctrine. These ideas enabled the Bolshevik Party to formulate a scientific strategy and tactics and to define the immediate and long-term tasks of the struggle waged by the working people.

The 1905-1907 Revolution enriched the masses with great political experience and led them to conscious historical creativity. New means and methods of class struggle were discovered. For the first time, the working people used the powerful weapon of mass political strikes. The peak of the revolution, its culmination, was the December armed uprising in Moscow. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, the people "received its baptism under fire. It was tempered in the uprising and trained the ranks of the fighters who won in 1917."

The soviets of worker, followed by the soviets of peasant and soviets of soldier deputies, were the battle organs of the revolutionary system, created by the people in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Petersburg, Moscow, Rostov, Saratov, Baku, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Sevastopol, Kostroma, Chita, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Smolensk, Revel, the Urals and many other places. V. I. Lenin saw in the

soviets the prototype of the future socialist governmental system, which was definitively established with the victorious October Revolution.

The 1905-1907 Russian Revolution, which expressed the general requirements of historical development, was of tremendous international importance. It triggered warm support and sympathy among the oppressed masses of Europe, America and Asia. The international solidarity of the working class strengthened. A wave of revolutionary and national-liberation movements welled up in a number of countries, advancing the general crisis of the global capitalist system.

The experience of fighting the exploiters for freedom and democracy, acquired in the course of the First Russian Revolution, substantially enriched the theory and practice of the class struggle and helped the people to overthrow hated tsarism in February 1917 and to destroy the bourgeois rule in October. To this day this experience retains its permanent significance for peoples struggling for social and national liberation, socialism and peace.

Our country has covered a glorious path of struggles and victories in the course of building socialism. Led by the communist party, the Soviet people eliminated all forms of exploitation and implemented Lenin's plan for building socialism. Age-old backwardness was surmounted within a brief historical period. The USSR became a powerful industrial-agrarian state. A socialist reorganization of agriculture took place and a cultural revolution was made. An unbreakable alliance among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia was forged. The living conditions of the people improved immeasurably. A new type of democracy--socialist democracy--was established in the USSR, guaranteeing the citizens' rights and freedoms, which neither exist nor could exist under the conditions of a bourgeois state. All Soviet republics truly blossomed. Equality, friendship and fraternity among peoples became a reality.

The country advanced far ahead within the framework of the first phase of communism and has now entered a new historically lengthy stage--the stage of developed socialism. Its planned and comprehensive advancement will be the main content of the activities of the party and the people for the foreseeable future. Gradual progress toward communism is taking place in the course of perfecting developed socialism. As it opens the way to socioeconomic progress, the CPSU is guided by the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, the subsequent Central Committee plenums and the addresses by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Radically upgrading public production efficiency and labor productivity, raising production forces to a new level, ensuring the intensification of all sectors in the national economy on the basis of the accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements, restructuring the system of economic management and the economic mechanism and developing the labor initiative and activeness of the masses are the key links in the comprehensive work to perfect developed socialism.

The main task of steadily enhancing the material and spiritual living standards of the people is being resolved on the basis of firm economic



foundations and the increasing substantial results of the work of the Soviet people. The party pays particular attention to the comprehensive assertion and development of the principle of social justice, inherent in socialism. Molding the new man and the ideological and moral enhancement of the individual remain the most important targets of our society and a mandatory prerequisite for the gradual advancement toward communism.

In resolving the problems of perfecting the political system of the society and developing socialist self-management by the people, the party ascribes prime importance to the extensive involvement of the working people in the management of social affairs, to broadening their democratic rights, combined with their obligations, and to the more active involvement of labor collectives in governmental work.

The role of the soviets of people's deputies increases even further under developed socialist conditions. Born in the course of the First Russian Revolution, they constitute the political foundation of our state and ensure true democracy. The soviets concentrate and direct the creative energy of the broadest possible masses in resolving vital socioeconomic and political problems. Their activities are consistent with the interests of all classes and social groups, nations, nationalities and generations in Soviet society.

The CPSU is always concerned with expanding the rights of soviets on all levels, the systematic implementation of the Leninist principle of unity of legislation, management and control in their work, the clear demarcation between the functions of party and soviet bodies and the full utilization of the tremendous potential of the soviets, so that their sovereignty, as codified in the USSR Constitution, may be consistently expressed through the content and style of their activities.

The CPSU and the Soviet state are systematically pursuing a Leninist foreign policy of peace. Under circumstances in which the international situation has become aggravated by the fault of the United States and its NATO allies, who are trying to turn the course of history back and to impose their will on the peoples, the unity and cohesion among the members of the socialist commonwealth--the reliable bulwark of peace and security of the people--become particularly great. United within the Warsaw Pact, the fraternal socialist countries have everything necessary firmly to rebuff the warmongers. The economic and scientific and technical cooperation among CEMA member countries is being comprehensively developed and steadily intensified.

The activeness of the international communist and worker movements and of anti-imperialist and antiwar forces on all continents is growing in the struggle for peace and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet people look at the future with confidence. They warmly approve and unreservedly support the policy of the communist party, which convincingly proved its powerful ideological, organizational and constructive strength and ability to lead the masses in the struggle for the reorganization of society on just socialist principles and for the sake of the communist cause. The monolithic unity between party and people is the source of the

indestructibility of the Soviet system and the further blossoming of our homeland.

The CPSU Central Committee decrees:

The 80th anniversary of the First Russian Revolution to be extensively celebrated as a noteworthy event in the history of the party and the country and the world communist, worker and national-liberation movements.

In connection with the anniversary, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations, soviet organs, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations and the political organs of the armed forces to engage in active political and organizational work aimed at promoting Soviet patriotism and further strengthening unity between party and people, rallying the working people around the CPSU even more closely and mobilizing the masses for the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan, and welcoming worthily the 27th CPSU Congress.

Efforts in ideological and mass political work to be concentrated on the dissemination of the revolutionary traditions and heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people in building the new society, the universal historical experience of the CPSU and the growing role of the soviets of people's deputies as a powerful tool in building socialism. The comprehensive activities of the party and the people in perfecting developed socialist society and the further development of socialist democracy to be brought to light vividly and convincingly.

A ceremonious session to be held in Moscow, dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the December armed uprising, and an all-union practical science conference dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the first soviets to be held in Ivanovo.

The CPSU Central Committee is confident that the party members and all working people in the Soviet Union will suitably welcome this great date in the history of the Leninist party and people--the 80th anniversary of the First Russian Revolution--marking it with new labor accomplishments for the good of our great socialist homeland and for the sake of the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace.

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## K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO VIETNAMESE READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85) pp 7-9

[From K. U. Chernenko's book "Voprosy Raboty Partiynogo i Gosudarstvennogo Apparata" [Problems of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus], issued by the Shi Tkhat Publishing House in Vietnamese]

[Text] It is with profound satisfaction that I meet the request to write a preface to the Vietnamese publication of my book "Voprosy Raboty Partiynogo i Gosudarstvennogo Apparata."

I use this occasion, above all, to offer my warmest greetings to the Vietnamese communist and all working people of Vietnam, linked with the Soviet people through relations of fraternal friendship and cohesion.

The reader will see that the book offered to his attention covers a considerable segment of time in the life of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The idea of the need to upgrade the efficiency of party and state work and to be always concerned with perfecting its style and method runs throughout the book.

Naturally, our experience should be considered through the historical lens. Today the Soviet people are resolving problems of perfecting the developed socialist society. The creation of such a society is the result of the heroic and dedicated toil of many generations of workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia and CPSU comprehensive activities.

Today our party numbers more than 18 million members. It is the acknowledged political vanguard not only of the working people but the entire Soviet people. The CPSU formulates a scientific strategy for the country's development and resolves broad problems of a political, ideological, economic and management nature.

Each stage in our progress triggers its own, sometimes quite difficult, problems. Here again, Marxism-Leninism has always been and remains our guiding star. Lenin's revolutionary doctrine and methodology help our party successfully to resolve the problems raised by life.

The Soviet communists check their daily work against Lenin's behests. They feel obligated undeviatingly to follow Lenin's style and to assert it in their actions. One of the main concerns of our party and its Central Committee is steadily to perfect the party's work and to struggle for strengthening socialist discipline and against bureaucratism or anything which hinders progress.

Long years of experience have convinced us that success depends to a tremendous extent on the ideological convictions, efficiency and moral purity of party and state cadres and their responsible and united work. That is why we pay great attention to the selection, placement and upbringing of cadre workers. They must be people loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, in Lenin's words, linked with the masses through thousands of ties, profoundly familiar with their work and distinguished by their good organizational capabilities, persistence and purposefulness.

We know that the Vietnamese communists and all working people in the republic are resolving problems of socialist reorganization under conditions different from our own. However, we share common objectives and ideals. The CPSU and the CPV and the Soviet Union and Vietnam are united by clear class positions and international solidarity in problems of building socialism and communism and implementing foreign policy tasks.

Dear Vietnamese friends, your actions are close to our hearts. We are familiar with the great accomplishments and difficulties which your country must surmount. I am convinced that united socialist Vietnam will become strong and prosperous. You have major prerequisites to achieve this: a rich subsoil and good climate, a great production potential and the help of friends. Naturally, above all, you have a people's regime and a firm industrious population, which rejected once and for all the yoke of exploitation and is consciously building a new free life. It was the resolve to defend and develop the cause of the August revolution, the 40th anniversary of the victory of which will be celebrated in 1985 by the Soviet people and by all friends of Vietnam together with the working people in the SRV.

We share with our Vietnamese comrades the same appreciation of the current international situation. The enemies of peace, democracy and socialism are increasing tension. They are engaged in an unrestrained arms race, developing increasingly refined military ordnance and resorting to gross blackmail of and pressure on independent countries. They are opposed by the strengthening will of the peoples for peace and the worldwide activeness of forces which are brimming with resolve to prevent the perishing of mankind as a result of a nuclear catastrophe and to defend the rights and freedoms of the peoples.

The prevention of a new world war and lowering the intensity of the imperialist arms race are the most important problems today. History has entrusted socialism with the responsible and noble mission of being in the vanguard of the struggle for resolving this exceptionally difficult and important problem. We see as one of the main prerequisites for its successful solution the further strengthening of the power of the socialist community and the intensified cooperation and interaction among fraternal parties and countries. Both our countries are making major contributions to the great

cause of the struggle for peace and progress. By joining efforts we are comprehensively increasing this contribution.

The Soviet Union fully supports the proposals made by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea on settling the situation in Southeast Asia. Turning this area into a zone of peace, stability and good neighborly relations would be of major importance in improving the political climate on our planet.

Finally, the book you are being offered was published in our country at the start of 1982. A period of more than 2 years is a long time in our present very dynamic times. Life does not stand still. It makes its corrections to social developments and to the practice, style and means and methods of party and state work.

For example, a great deal of new, interesting and instructive features have appeared since then in the work of our party, state and economic organs as a result of the large-scale economic experiment taking place in the country, the introduction of the brigade contracting order, the organization of agroindustrial associations in the countryside, the creation of new territorial-economic complexes and the implementation of the school reform.

We have entered the period of immediate preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. A new draft of the party program will be submitted to the congress for discussion, which will define, in accordance with the level of socioeconomic maturity reached by the new society, the new levels of perfecting developed socialism, the principles governing CPSU activities and the party's place and role in the political system of Soviet society.

As always, the CPSU will continue to pay tireless attention to improving its work style and method, so that it may always confidently lead the toiling masses in the struggle for building the new society.

I wish the Vietnamese people great successes in building socialism and peace and happiness to every family in fraternal Vietnam.

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# K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO THE POLISH READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85) pp 9-12

[From K. U. Chernenko's book "Voprosy Raboty Partiynogo i Gosudarstvennogo Apparata" [Problems of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus], issued by the Ksenzha i Vedza Publishing House jointly with the Soviet Izdatel'stvo Progress in the Polish language]

[Text] Izdatel'stvo Progress has asked me to write a brief preface to the Polish edition of this book.

I willingly grant this request, for I am sincerely convinced that the more familiar we are with each other's accomplishments and thoughts, the stronger our ties and the more fruitful our cooperation will be. This is consistent with the basic interests of both our countries.

I believe that problems related to the work of our party and state apparatus, discussed in this book, are also of interest to the Polish readers.

Developed socialism, which was created in our country, was the result of long years of intensive CPSU activities and the heroic toil of workers, peasants and intellectuals. The road to it passed through the solution of a tremendous number of most difficult tasks and problems of economic, educational, ideological, administrative and simply practical nature. Time goes forth. The economic and social progress of our country itself triggers new and no less complex problems, not to mention the fact that despite the speed of our progress, we have not been able to resolve everything quite substantively. A sober realistic approach indicates that we are at the start of a historically lengthy stage of perfecting developed socialism. This strategic trend in all our activities is at the foundation of the new draft of the CPSU program which we will adopt at the next 27th Party Congress.

Our party has had to surmount many difficulties along its way. However, in the words of V. I. Lenin, it retained the strength and flexibility of its organism, its maneuvering capability, firmness of spirit and a clear head. The CPSU, which today numbers more than 18 million members, has become the acknowledged political vanguard not only of the working class but the entire Soviet people as well.



The party has never considered its leading role as some kind of privilege. This role was earned by the communists in the course of their dedicated struggle for the implementation of the ideals of social justice: the elimination of the exploitation of labor by capital, the establishment of true democracy and equality among peoples and nations, the creation of conditions for a secure life for the working people and their exposure to the values of national and world culture. The reputation of the party and the faith of the people in its policy are based on this. The party deems it its duty again and again to justify this trust and to strengthen it through its constant concern for the people's good.

In turn, the apparatus of the party and the state, which is their strong binding link with the toiling masses, is in the center of the constructive work in the implementation of the party's ideas and plans.

The Soviet communists check all of their work against Lenin's behests, deeming themselves obligated strictly to follow Lenin's style and to assert it in their actions and behavior. Steadily to improve the party's work is a requirement of the main concern in maintaining the party's leading role in society and the state on the level of increasingly complex problems.

The party means people. It is people who decide the success of the work. Therefore, we are steadily working on improving the selection, placement and training of cadres of party and state workers. Today's manager is, above all, a person loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, profoundly knowledgeable in his work and distinguished by organizational capabilities and high standards. He must be able to think broadly, to have a feeling for the new and to recognize it in practice.

The party means organization. Making good decisions is insufficient. One must be able to organize their implementation, verification and control in such a way that such decisions are implemented unquestioningly and punctually. Control must not be on paper or formal but practical, vital.

Finally, party means ideology. By perfecting our ideological work we see to it that the party committees, mass information media, scientific institutions, creative organizations and the entire party ideological aktiv contribute with increasing energy to resolving all of our problems in the areas of domestic and foreign policy. As we see it, ideological work is a matter for the entire party. The key to its success lies in the unity of educational, organizational and economic activities on all levels and in all sectors.

A splendid youth is growing in our country. We, the party members of the senior generation, see with a feeling of fatherly love how the young citizens of the country are growing as patriots and active builders of the new life. Naturally, here as well there are problems. Our schools have somewhat fallen behind contemporary requirements, which made it necessary to initiate a major reform in the public education system. The party took a number of steps to improve the organization of the upbringing of young people and to strengthen its leadership of the Komsomol. All of this is part of our social development strategy.

We pay closest possible attention to the further enhancement of the Soviet economy and the implementation of the five-year plan. The party's efforts to implement the Food Program, to improve the availability of consumer goods in the country and to carry out large-scale housing construction convincingly prove that the purpose of our economic policy is the good of the people and the satisfaction of their vital needs.

Like all fraternal peoples in the socialist countries, the Soviet people are profoundly interested in durable peace. The prevention of a new world war and lowering the intensity of the imperialist arms race means, under current circumstances, the preservation of life on our earth. The history of mankind has entrusted socialism with this difficult and exceptionally important mission. That is why we consider strengthening cooperation and interaction among fraternal socialist countries the main prerequisite for the successful implementation of all of our common objectives.

Through their joint peaceable policy the Warsaw Pact members are making a tremendous contribution to the defense of peace. Through joint efforts, we have succeeded in achieving major changes in turning Europe into a continent of peace and mutually profitable cooperation. The realities which appeared in Europe as a result of the victory over Hitlerite Germany and postwar developments and the inviolability of European borders have been recognized on the international-legal level.

The members of CEMA are rallying their forces with increasing success in resolving problems of economic development. The Moscow summit economic conference laid the path to a new stage in our interaction in this area.

The socialist world is reliably countering the intensified attacks launched by imperialist reaction. Unfortunately, our class enemies are still able to cause us difficulties, sometimes quite substantial ones. However, they are unable seriously to hinder our progress, not to mention to constrict world socialism. The flow of the new life and the historical advancement of socialism are gathering strength and confidently sweeping all obstacles off their way.

Here is what I particularly would like to tell the Polish reader.

Quite recently, together with their Polish friends, the Soviet people solemnly celebrated the 40th anniversary of Poland's rebirth. The combat alliance and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland, born in the joint struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors, will remain sacred for us forever. In the course of the postwar 40 years the firm foundations of Soviet-Polish friendship, based on the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, were able to withstand all the trials of time.

The strength of our cooperation was convincingly manifested in the difficult period recently experienced by Poland and its people. We shall continue to defend Soviet-Polish friendship as a priceless gain for which the best sons of the people of our countries gave their lives.



Our interaction has a good future. This is clearly confirmed by the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland for the period through the year 2000, which was initialed in May 1984. The joint acceleration of the pace of economic development and, on this basis, the enhancement of the living standard of the population are the substantial results of the policy of fraternal friendship on which CPSU and PZPR activities are based.

Finally, the book you are being offered was published in our country at the start of 1982. A period of more than 2 years is a long time in our present very dynamic times. Life does not stand still. It makes its corrections to social developments and to the practice, style and means and methods of party and state work. The June and December 1983 and February and April 1984 Central Committee plenums directed the party members and all working people in the country toward the solution of the important and complex problems in the light of the requirements of the 26th Party Congress.

Positive processes are developing in the realm of management and the economic mechanism is being perfected. A great deal of new, interesting and instructive features have appeared, for example, within that time in the work of the party, state and economic organs in connection with the wide-scale economic experiment carried out in the country, the organization of agroindustrial associations in the countryside, the creation of new territorial-economic complexes, the implementation of the school reform, etc.

Such was the case in the past and such will it be in the future. This is a law of dialectics. It is a norm of our daily life and creative work to perfect the developed socialist society. The task of the party lies precisely in the fact of always being on the level of the requirement of the time, supporting and multiplying everything new and progressive, confidently leading the toiling masses and rallying them in the struggle for building the new society.

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#### K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO GDR READERS

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pp 12-14

[From K. U. Chernenko's book "Izbrannyye Rech'i i Stati: 1981-1984 Gody"  
[Selected Speeches and Articles: 1981-1984] prepared for publication by the  
Berlin Publishing House Dietz Verlag]

[Text] I am availing myself with gratitude of the opportunity to accompany the collection of my articles and speeches being published in the GDR with a brief address to the readers.

The work, which is presented in chronological order, covers less than a decade. From the point of view of domestic affairs, including economic policy, and from the point of view of international affairs, this has been an outstanding and dynamic period marked by major successes of the Soviet state.

The attention of the CPSU in this period was focused primarily on ensuring that the work of Soviet people became more efficient, that the economic might of the Soviet Union increased and that its defense capabilities grew stronger. At the same time, it was necessary to seek to achieve an increase in the people's well-being and the education of the people, especially of the young, in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism as politically conscious builders of a new society.

The nature of the problems now facing our country is primarily determined by what was done, what was achieved in these years, but at the same time by what we still have not managed to achieve by virtue of some circumstance or another. Briefly, this book, just as life itself, contains the recent past and the present welded together by an indissoluble link of continuity.

When the Soviet Union publishes the writings of the leaders of fraternal parties and countries, we are motivated by an ardent, sincere interest in how our friends live and work and by a desire to acquaint the Soviet public with their experience, thoughts and strivings. I am convinced that socialist countries are similarly motivated when they translate books by Soviet leaders.

The ability to use that which is successful and useful in the practice of running state and society, the economy and culture, in the experience accumulated by like-minded communists, is becoming an increasingly important factor in socialist creation. Strictly speaking, was this not what Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was thinking when he wrote that "only by means of a number of attempts, each of which taken separately would be one-sided and suffer from a certain disparity, can an integral socialism be created from the revolutionary cooperation among the proletarians of all countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected works], vol 36, p 306).

Each of the countries of our community has now come a long way. Many ordeals have been endured with honor. Quite a few difficult tasks have been solved. The CPSU is seeking to draw from this source all that can help in our onward movement. We agreed that the striving of the fraternal parties and peoples to derive benefit for themselves from our Soviet experience is natural.

Relying on the foundation of what has been achieved, Soviet communists are now carrying out tremendous creative work to perfect the socialist society built in the USSR.

We proceed from the fact that this work to conduct all aspects of public life in accordance with the highest standards and with the highest requirements of scientific socialism is the main content of that historically long phase that we have entered, the stage of developed socialism. The new large-scale tasks of this stage require great efforts in all spheres of the party's leading activity, including in the sphere of ideology.

We are living in a complicated world. We have to face complex problems engendered both by objective and, at times, subjective causes. Moreover, imperialism is raining down on the socialist countries an outpouring of lies and slander. Getting one's bearings in the avalanche of information and working out one's personal and, moreover, correct attitude to the major problems of the present time can only be done in our time when one has a correct, scientific world outlook and takes up a precise class position. Our party is devoting due attention to questions of the ideological struggle. We are working toward a level of propaganda that is not only trustworthy and relevant, but also easy to understand, convincing and imbued with profound ideas.

We ourselves candidly reveal existing shortcomings and widely practice the method of criticism and self-criticism, including in the press. This helps us advance more rapidly and correct what is not being done the way it should be done.

We are tackling tasks of epoch-making significance in the sphere of foreign policy too. Soviet people have no more important and higher concern than to live and work in peace. The great sacrifices we made on the altar of victory in the Second World War will not be blotted out from the people's memory.

Four decades have elapsed since May 1945 when the rout of Hitlerite fascism was completed, when the Soviet soldier liberated forever the peoples of Europe, including the German people from Hitlerite enslavement. The victory

over German fascism changed materially the face of our continent and led to even deeper changes.

However, every thinking person cannot but ask himself the question: Was World War II inevitable? Obviously, it could have been prevented if the European peoples and governments, as the USSR proposed, had acted collectively against Hitler's aggressive pretensions. This was not done primarily because the leading figures of capitalist Europe of that time in their class blindness declared the "Soviet threat" to be more dangerous. The Hitlerites and their stooges naturally tried to use this.

Unfortunately, there are, in our time too, forces--and not only in the United States--which try to justify their aggressive policies and the arms race by referring to the "threat from the East." So it is all the more useful to recall how ruinous such false premises and false political conclusions drawn from them can be.

The USSR, the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries are doing everything to ensure that the peace in Europe that was won in 1945 is preserved for the coming generations.

The struggle against the danger of war and for a firm peace and for strengthening the positions of world socialism is indivisible from the efforts aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

The blame for the increased complications in the international situation lies totally with imperialist reaction. The CPSU, which comes out for an improvement in the world climate, proceeds from the premise that the present course being conducted by the most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism and a number of the United States' NATO allies (I am, of course, referring to the FRG) is a course aimed at achieving military superiority over the USSR and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, is dangerous to the security of the peoples and is historically doomed to failure. But we shall be able to be more successful in implementing this historical opportunity the weightier the allied and class solidarity of all the fraternal socialist countries becomes.

The unity of the socialist states is the most important factor in current conditions in strengthening peace on earth. At the same time, our unity is the prototype of the future fraternity of all working people, the contribution of socialism to the humanization of relations among the peoples. This is not just a verbal contribution, but a real and palpable one.

The Soviet Union sincerely values the fraternal friendship that links it with the people of the GDR. During the celebrations of the 35th anniversary of the German state of workers and peasants, as this preface is being written, the thought of the inviolability and fruitfulness of this friendship has been heard with particular strength.

The socialist GDR has in the Soviet Union a reliable ally. Those who love adventure and who bear revanchist ideas must take into account this very convincing and stubborn fact, as the saying goes. Socialism has become firmly established on German territory and will last forever. The working people of

the GDR are creating with their own hands a society in which their concepts of correct and just life are being implemented. I would like to wish the working people of your country great success on this path whose route was laid by the titanic activity of the great thinkers and revolutionaries, Marx, Engels and V. I. Lenin.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Dietz-Verlag Publishing House for publishing this book.

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CSO: 1802/8



REPLY TO DR A. POST (UNITED STATES) AND DR K.TOTH (HUNGARY), COCHAIRMAN OF  
THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

PM051800 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85)  
pp 15-16

[Text] Esteemed gentlemen:

I read with interest your message, which shows that the religious circles you represent hold realistic positions on important problems of war and peace.

We carefully studied your appeal to our country and to the United States regarding the measures that you believe should be taken for the sake of peace on earth.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we share your viewpoint regarding the importance of freezing nuclear arms, especially by the United States and the Soviet Union. We believe that the adoption of appropriate pledges first by these states, and later by others possessing a nuclear potential, would be an important step along the path of lessening the threat of nuclear war and would open up a prospect for the reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons until all varieties of those weapons are totally eliminated, which is what we regard as our chief aim in this issue.

If the American side were to prohibit nuclear weapons tests and renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, as your message says, we could only welcome this. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has repeatedly advocated the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and has unilaterally assumed a pledge not to be the first to use such weapons.

We also understand your alarm at the possibility of the militarization of outer space, including the deployment of nuclear weapons there. Indeed, the attempts by certain American circles to foist the era of "star wars" on mankind create an additional new threat to peace. If U.S. militarist forces manage to prevail on this issue, an irreversible situation fraught with the most disastrous consequences will arise. I want to draw attention to the fact that this is realized by virtually all the UN member states, which, except for the United States, voted at the 39th General Assembly Session in favor of preventing an arms race in outer space.



The Soviet Union attaches great importance to reaching an accord with the United States on the whole complex of issues embracing both the nonmilitarization of space and nuclear armaments. There is a pressing need to adopt urgent and effective measures to prevent the further destabilization of the strategic situation and to prevent new rounds in the arms race.

In this connection I would like to stress that our approach to talks is based on the premise that they must be honest and businesslike. The aim of talks must not be to deceive your partner and public opinion--we cannot agree to that morality--but to seek mutually acceptable solutions that accord with the interests of peace.

Whether or not there is to be war depends today on all people, irrespective of their philosophical and ideological positions.

We have always advocated and continue to advocate close cooperation with all peace-loving forces in the world, including religious circles, who, in our opinion, can play a considerable role in delivering mankind from the nuclear threat.

The quest for mutually acceptable ways to achieve lasting peace and a constructive approach toward solving complex international problems can ensure the security of the peoples and the prime human right--the right to life.

I wish you and all religious figures upholding the ideals of peace further successes.

Respectfully,

K. Chernenko

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## THE EFFECTIVENESS AND REALITY OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

AU140701 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85)  
pp 17-31

[Article by V. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium--capitalized words published in boldface]

[Text] The land of the soviets has entered the final stage of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The main outcome of the past years is that, by steadily following the course of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, the party and the people are confidently progressing along the path of consolidating the economic and defense might of our motherland and improving the well-being of Soviet people along the path of peace and progress.

The party has developed a comprehensively thought out and realistic strategy for perfecting developed socialism and the various spheres of life in Soviet society. The measures adopted at the initiative of the party, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo and aimed at intensifying production, activating scientific-technological progress, increasing organizations, strengthening discipline and order, increasing exactingness toward the cadres and improving the ideological means of ensuring the practice of socialist construction have met with general support and approval.

These large-scale tasks urgently dictate the necessity of basically all working people directly participating in their fulfillment and also the need to increase the effectiveness of the organizational forms of their social activeness. And there is every ground for claiming that the socialist social system is functioning successfully and being perfected. It ensures the appearance of more and more new forms and methods of developing democracy and broadening the working people's participation in economic and sociocultural construction and in all sociopolitical practice.

### I

THE SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES ARE THE CHIEF FORM OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY. Born of the revolutionary creativity of the broadest proletarian masses in the course of the 1905-07 Revolution in Russia, the 80th anniversary of which we marked in January, at every stage of struggle and creativity the

soviets have embodied the ideals of socialist democracy, reflected the trends of historical progress and fulfilled the tasks facing the country. As pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee resolution dedicated to this historic event, today, under the leadership of the communist party, the soviets of people's deputies, which form the USSR's political base, concentrate and channel the creative energy of the broadest masses into fulfilling vital socioeconomic and political tasks. The entire course of social development urgently requires that their creative, organizing role be enhanced and that their transforming influence on practice be intensified.

On the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin determined that the "PEOPLE, united in the soviets--this is who must manage the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 31, p 188). Soon after the October Revolution Lenin set the task of turning the soviets into organs of state leadership which would operate not only FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE, but also THROUGH THE WORKING PEOPLE (op. cit., vol 38, p 170).

Consolidated in the USSR Constitution and consistently implemented in practice, the forms of participation by the working people in state affairs are, by virtue of their diversity and range, and the scale of their real influence on the processes taking place in society, remarkable examples of true democracy and of the great historic advantages of the socialist system and its political system.

These forms of participation are: first and foremost, the work of the representatives of the people in the soviets, which now unite 2.3 million deputies and more than 30 million members of the social aktiv; the purposeful activities, which reflect the various needs and interests of the people, of the trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations; the consistently growing activeness of the organs of people's control and of the labor collectives and the development of democratic principles in production and in places of residence; and, finally, the virtually limitless possibilities for every citizen to really participate in the discussion and implementation of Soviet laws and the most important socioeconomic decisions.

One can therefore say that we are more and more perceptibly progressing toward embodying Lenin's behest on drawing the entire population into the management of state and social affairs. Consistently broadening the rights and opportunities of the working man to be master of production and to participate in all sociopolitical practice and drawing the working people as much as possible into resolving the problems in the life of the country is, as a matter of fact, to quote Lenin, a reliable way of "teaching the people to govern themselves..." (op. cit., vol 34, p 316).

In particular, Lenin regarded one of the most important ways of developing Soviet statehood as being that of "every soviet member definitely performing constant work in the management of the state, as well as participating in soviet meetings; and also every member of the population being gradually drawn into participating in soviet organization...and into fulfilling the functions of state management" (op. cit., vol 36, p 73).

Now, when a great deal of work is being done under party leadership to enhance the role and the authority of the soviets and to develop all forms of drawing the masses into state and social affairs, it is particularly essential to seriously examine the theoretical problems of further deepening socialist democracy, while taking accumulated experience into account. "As a whole," emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "it is a question of developing the creative force of socialist self-government to its full extent. In this lies the meaning of perfecting our society's political system. This is bringing our system closer to the ideal of socialism."

As life shows, our organs of power act as an indispensable, truly invaluable school of political experience for millions of working people, really ensure their participation in the resolving of state affairs and cultivate in them a sense of being master of one's country and manager of its wealthy and fate. These distinguishing features of the soviets are convincingly revealed at the very sources of their formation. They are today clearly reflected in the course of the extensive preparations for the ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIETS IN THE UNION AND AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS AND TO LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER planned for 24 February.

The current election campaign is progressing at a remarkable time, which is marked by preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. All this engenders a creative attitude in the working people and a powerful upsurge of patriotic spirit.

Election committees have been formed on a broad democratic basis, and it is on their shoulders that the organization of extremely responsible work connected with preparing for and holding the elections rests. Approximately 9 million worthy representatives of social organizations and labor collectives have joined hundreds of thousands of such committees. The system of election committees stipulated by law, the system of forming electoral districts and compiling lists of voters, and, finally, the organization of the voting itself--all this is exclusively aimed at ensuring that every voter has the maximum opportunity to express his will.

The election campaign is a responsible matter which requires careful consideration of the voter's opinion. Of course, this also fully applies to a most important feature of the campaign--the nomination of candidates for deputies. Naturally, in putting forward a candidate, a production collective weighs up all his qualities and makes demands of him appropriate to the high calling of an elected representative of the people. The working people nominate the very best as their representatives in the organs of state power. The meetings which take place during preparations for the elections between the voters and the candidates for deputies are, as a rule, distinguished by a high degree of activeness and efficiency and are really becoming a nationwide review of the activities of the soviets and all state organs.

Since the moment when Soviet power was won in our country, the number of voters participating in elections has grown consistently with every passing year, which attests to the fact that Soviet citizens are becoming more and



more actively involved in state affairs. Whereas, for example, in 1926 elections to the local soviets, in 1934 this number has grown to 85 percent. And, since 1939, the corresponding statistics have always exceeded 99 percent. This is a convincing indicator of the democratic nature, effectiveness and stability of the Soviet system. At the same time, many ordinary citizens in the West refuse to participate in elections, having lost faith in the possibility of exerting any real influence on the outcome of the elections. Suffice it to say that in recent years the number of American voters participating in elections to Congress has not even reached 40 percent. This kind of apathy, "flight from life," and, on the other hand, original form of social protest is evidence of the profound crisis in capitalism's political system.

Working in the heart of the masses and relying on the initiative of millions, the soviets of people's deputies are today armed with a concrete, extremely precise plan of action mapped out by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums. Powerful incentive to develop socialist democracy and our statehood has been provided by THE DECISION OF THE APRIL 1984 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM AND THE PROGRAM SPEECH GIVEN BY COMRADE K. U. CHERNENKO AT THIS PLENUM. These documents put forward and substantiate a broad complex of measures aimed at mobilizing the creative potentials of Soviet democracy to the maximum and overcoming the certain discrepancy between the wealth of potential inherent in the soviets and the real use of this potential in practice. And today one can already perceive the concrete results of the salutary effect of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the practice of Soviet democracy. The work of soviet sessions and of permanent committees has become more animated, and their control over accountable organs has increased. Work to fulfill electoral mandates is becoming more varied. The soviets are showing greater initiative and efficiency in resolving problems connected with economic and sociocultural construction and in satisfying the needs of the population. The party has pointed out the necessity to more fully and extensively use democratic forms and methods, to tirelessly perfect the style of work of the soviets and to develop and intensify their connections with the masses.

It is primarily a question of filling soviet sessions, this highest form of activity of our organs of people's power, with rich, comprehensive content. The range of problems discussed has lately become broader, their analysis more thorough and their solution more concrete. Particular attention is concentrated on key problems--fulfilling plans for economic and social development and budgets, implementing the food and energy programs, increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods, perfecting public services and housing and communal services, consolidating socialist legality and so forth. Deputy questions are being used more extensively...an effective means of controlling the activities of organs and officials accountable to the soviets. It is appropriate to note the topicality and seriousness of the questions and the effectiveness of the measures aimed at eliminating shortcomings. All this increases the mobilizing, educational influence of the sessions.

Unfortunately, it still cannot be said that this kind of practice has been established everywhere. The potentials of the sessions are far from fully

implemented; elements of formalism, excessive organization and show have not been everywhere eliminated; and sometimes the form overshadows the essence of the matter.

Measures to IMPROVE THE WORK OF THE SOVIETS' EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS are being consistently adopted. Many executive committees have begun to more actively influence the state of affairs and to operate more efficiently and with greater persistence. The number of issues examined at sessions has been reduced. The mistakes of past years, when numerous decisions were adopted on the same issues, are less frequently repeated. It must, however, be admitted that the style and methods of work are not being reorganized with sufficient energy by the executive committees of local soviets, especially in the rayon unit. Here the inertia of forms developed over the years is still strong and not all "centers" of management and control are functioning as they should. The apparatus of the executive committees is frequently swamped, as before with day-to-day matters, it never gets around to the major, long-term issues and the office style of leadership has not been eliminated.

In accordance with the directives of the April Central Committee Plenum, fundamental changes are taking place in the practice of the WORK OF PERMANENT SOVIET COMMISSIONS. These commissions are a great force: Within the framework of the local soviets alone there are more than 330,000 permanent commissions that unite approximately 2 million deputies and more than 2.5 million activists are drawn into work in the commissions. One can say that the work of the commissions has become noticeably more active and is ascendant. The validity of the proposals and recommendations they work out is increasing, as is the effectiveness of control. However, even here not all reserves are utilized. Permanent commissions everywhere must act as active organizers in the fulfillment of the decisions of the soviets and higher organs, electoral mandates and their own recommendations. Concrete, thorough and comprehensive research into problems and skillfully organized control--this is what must be in the forefront.

Successful fulfillment of the functions of the soviets as representative organs ultimately depends on THE ACTIVE, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPUTIES. There is no doubt that their work must be still more energetic and must cover a whole range of problems connected with state administration. The deputy groups and posts which help to more purposefully conduct deputy activities in production and in voters' places of residence have positively recommended themselves.

The goals determined by the party in improving the activities of the soviets require INCREASED ATTENTION TO BE PAID TO GENERALIZING PROGRESSIVE EXPERIENCE AND COMPREHENSIVELY ANALYZING THE SITUATION IN THE PROVINCES.

Greater attention is being devoted to this aspect of the matter in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In recent years its Presidium sessions have analyzed the practice of the soviets in all the union republics and in some of the autonomous republics, as well as in the Moscow, Leningrad, Kostroma, Kuybyshev, Kursk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Perm, Rovno and Chelyabinsk oblasts in key aspects of the activities of the representative organs of power.



The Supreme Soviets in the union republics and their presidiums have also begun to more actively study the problems of generalizing and disseminating the best examples of soviet work. Thus, after the April Central Committee Plenum, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium analyzed the activities of soviets in Belgorod Oblast in connection with fulfilling electoral mandates; in the Azerbaijan SSR the problem of sessional activities of soviets of people's deputies in the Zhdanovskiy Rayon was examined; in the Moldavian SSR the experience of the Beltsy City soviet's work in places of residence was generalized; and in the Armenian SSR observance of the requirements of legislation on land-tenure by the Bagramyanskiy, Masisskiy and Oktemberyanskiy rayon soviets was verified. And a considerable number of such examples can be cited.

In summing up what has been said, it is appropriate to emphasize that life requires us to still more fully mobilize and more extensively develop the creative potential of Soviet democracy, and also totally subordinate this potential to the fulfillment of tasks set by the party. Precisely this is the main and most effective and reliable way of improving the work of the soviets.

THE SOUL OF ALL SOVIET WORK AND THE LEADING FORCE IN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION THAT FILLS THE LIFE OF THE SOVIET ALL-PEOPLE'S STATE IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY. It worthily fulfills the historic mission bequeathed by the great Lenin--to lead the people toward communism, "direct and organize the new system, and be the mentor and the leader of all the working people..." (op. cit., vol 33, p 26). Complying with this behest, the CPSU steadily increases its influence on the processes of socialist construction in our country and concentrates its attention on the most important aspects of the people's life. By fulfilling the role of political leader, it coordinates and skilfully directs the activities of the soviets and other state organs and social organizations, develops and encourages their independence and initiative and inspires the broad popular masses to the heights of political creativity.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes in his article "To the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism," "enhancing the leading role of the party and deepening socialist democracy is a unified, integral and natural process. The party will also henceforth conduct an extensive search for new, even more effective means of implementing democracy and will strive to better utilize the forms of this democracy which have been tested in practice. Today the center of gravity in this work is being shifted toward fully and consistently exercising those extensive rights granted the soviets, the labor collectives and all sectors of our democratic system."

## II

The communist party directs the organs of people's authority toward raising the level of leadership of all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural construction and increasing exactingness, especially in spheres directly connected with satisfying the daily needs of the people. Measures adopted in recent years aimed at perfecting economic management and strengthening discipline and cadre responsibility are yielding tangible results.

Our economy has begun to develop more dynamically. The rates of development of the national economy have increased and qualitative indexes have improved.

As a whole, during 1983-1984 industrial production increased by 8.6 percent against 6.4 percent during the first 2 years of the five-year plan period. Positive changes have been noted in agriculture. Following the course of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, the party has set a number of new tasks of paramount importance, which are connected with improving state leadership of the national economy. In his speech delivered at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session at which the draft state plan and the draft USSR budget for 1985 were examined, Comrade K. U. Chernenko clearly determined the program of action for the immediate and the long-term future--to manage the economy better, to utilize resources more economically and to work with greater results.

Now it is important to consolidate and multiply what has been achieved and to accelerate progress further. As it was emphasized at the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "Perfecting Developed Socialism and Ideological Party Work in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum," life has set a task of great political significance--that of raising the national economy to a qualitatively new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level and achieving a decisive improvement in intensifying social production and increasing its efficiency. Soviets at all levels regard these fundamental party directives as a long-term program of practical action in the chief, deciding sector--IN ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet held recently approved the country's plan and budget for 1985. Painstaking analysis of these documents in the permanent commissions, their comprehensive and principle discussion at the session and careful consideration of deputies' observations and recommendations have given the plan great validity and weight. It determines higher growth rates in the national economy in terms of general economic indexes than on average in previous years in the five-year plan period. The plan is oriented toward increasing the intensification and raising the technical level of production, comprehensively improving the quality of production, more fully utilizing reserves and reliably ensuring the country's defense potential.

The problems of MAKING EFFICIENT USE OF MATERIAL AND LABOR RESOURCES arise today in all their magnitude. In this regard soviets and deputy groups and posts must everywhere impart a mass nature to the movement for economizing all forms of resources and for creating funds from economizing above plan requirements in every republic, kray, oblast, rayon and enterprise--funds that will be channeled into the social needs of the labor collectives and primarily into an improvement in medical services. A point of honor for soviet organs is the PARTICIPATE MOST ACTIVELY IN FULFILLING THE GENERAL STATE TASK SET BY THE PARTY--EVERY LABOR COLLECTIVE MUST WORK 2 DAYS A YEAR ON ECONOMIZED RAW AND OTHER MATERIALS AND FUEL.

The problem of correctly COMBINING TERRITORIAL AND BRANCH PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZING MANAGEMENT while safeguarding general state interests retains its importance. The problems of perfecting management, now under examination, also directly concern the soviets of people's deputies, particularly in connection with switching the work of domestic services enterprises in a number of republics and oblasts over to new conditions and introducing new methods of effective cooperation between branches of the agroindustrial complex.

Many soviets, actively opposing departmental tendencies still frequently encountered, strive to comprehensively fulfill the tasks of economic and social development and to more closely coordinate production and the services sphere. The economy in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Sverdlovsk, Krasnoyarsk and many other cities and rayons is developing in line with unified, comprehensive plans.

The local organs of power in the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR are functioning creatively in this direction. Active search for concrete forms of optimally combining branch and territorial principles of management is in progress in Georgia and in other union republics.

The soviets are devoting increasing attention to working out schemes for developing regions, territorial-production complexes and industrial centers. However, the ministries still frequently bypass the soviets and ignore their businesslike proposals. And as a result of this--some industrial enterprises are located without due consideration of demographic, environmental, transportation and other factors, and serious errors are permitted in the planning and building of cities and regions. And in order to conceal the sin even the local organs of power themselves far from always exhibit the necessary persistence in this respect.

In light of the requirements of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum it is essential to more efficiently and systematically work on perfecting the organization and legal bases of mutual relations between the soviets and enterprises and organizations not within their jurisdiction.

Life suggests a considerable number of interesting ways of improving this interaction which merit attention. In Riga, for example, a system successfully in operation is that of the "enterprise within the city," a system based on precise economic calculations of the degree of participation of every plant, association and combine in comprehensive development and also of their contribution to the social infrastructure. In Tallin, Donetsk, Saratov, Cheboksary, Murmansk and Yaroslavl introduction of the system of one client and a general designer and contractor is having a positive effect upon increasing the rates of progress and improving the quality of civic housing construction.

Practical implementation of the Food Program is still a subject of unremitting concern for the soviets and their organs. A little more than 2.5 years have passed since this program was approved. This has been a short but fruitful period. The year 1983 witnessed the greatest volume of agricultural production ever in the country's entire history. And last year fairly good



results were achieved in many rayons under extremely unfavorable climatic conditions. Positive changes were observed in livestock breeding and changes in the social restructuring of rural areas were also noted. At the same time, as is well known, the situation in a number of areas is still difficult and there are still serious problems connected with supplying the population with certain foodstuffs.

A new stage in accelerating the development of the agrarian sector of the economy was begun by the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which established a long-term program of land amelioration with the aim of steadily building up the country's food fund. Fulfillment of the new major tasks requires a considerable improvement in the activities of the agroindustrial associations and a rise in the level of the soviets' leadership of them. Practice shows that where the soviet executive committees engage in this work in a businesslike way and on a daily basis the results are evident, the relations between the members of associations are built on mutually beneficial foundations and important economic problems are resolved successfully through local resources.

Amelioration requires well-defined interaction between all units in the agroindustrial complex not only in work directly connected with land amelioration, but also in work to ensure everything necessary to accompany this: the construction of roads and of accommodations and establishments for cultural-social purposes and the resolution of other vital social problems. And here the local organs of power must fully show their worth.

Unfortunately, the soviets have far from exercised their rights and potentials to the fullest in their leadership of the agroindustrial complex. Many rayispolkoms continue as before to take upon themselves the direct resolving of problems which come under the competence of the soviets of the rayon agroindustrial association, instead of giving practical help and controlling the activities of the economic organs. This defective practice must be abandoned. The chief concern of the soviets is to enhance the authority, independence and initiative of new organs of management in every possible way and to skillfully direct their activities.

### III

CONCERN TO ENSURE THE INDIVIDUAL'S WELL-BEING AND HAPPINESS, TO CREATE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS FOR HIS WORK AND EVERYDAY LIFE AND TO COMPREHENSIVELY DEVELOP HIS PERSONALITY is the supreme aim of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state. "All our efforts to accelerate the development of the economy," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "are ultimately aimed at making it possible to allocate more resources for social needs and to more rapidly raise the population's standard of living. Strictly speaking, this is what our plans are aimed at."

The country's state plan for 1985 contains an extensive social program and envisages a further rise in the material and cultural standard of living of Soviet people. Suffice it to say that the population's real income this year will grow by 3.3 percent and that the housing conditions of more than 50 million people will be improved over the course of the five-year plan.



A vitally important issue requiring the daily attention of the soviets is that of INCREASING THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS, BROADENING THE RANGE OF THESE GOODS AND IMPROVING THEIR QUALITY. As a whole, a change for the better has been noted in this sphere. In a number of places experience has been accumulated in involving all enterprises, irrespective of the department they come under, in the production of necessary commodities. However, as far as a considerable number of most important commodities in mass demand are concerned, tasks are not being fulfilled, and in some cases this has been so for a number of years. Many plants have no workshops at all for the manufacture of consumer goods or they set aside small areas for this purpose in the backyard of the main production unit. Industry frequently produces products of low consumer standards which are not in demand. For a number of years now, as was noted at the most recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, many enterprises in light industry in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kirgizia, Turkmenia and some other republics have been manufacturing commodities with the same defects, while the Soviets have virtually reconciled themselves to the situation. This situation needs to be urgently rectified.

There are still fundamental shortcomings in the organization of trade and in the work of the services sphere. Trade organizations are slow to reorganize their work to meet the increased demands of the population. In a number of places the plan for retail trade turnover is not fulfilled, commodity resources are not always rationally distributed and utilized and consumer demand is poorly taken into account and predicted. Many enterprises breach contractual obligations. Progressive forms of trade are insufficiently introduced and serious errors are permitted in the selection and training of trade workers and in the creating of conditions essential to them in their work and everyday life, which leads to a high turnover in cadres. The local soviets also carry a serious share of the responsibility for this.

As is well known, the drawing up of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Consumer Goods and the Popular Services System for the 1986-2000 period is at present in its final stages. It is essential to bring all reserves fully into operation and to more boldly apply, in particular, the experience of the enterprising work done by the soviets in this important sphere which has been accumulated in Moscow and Sverdlovsk, a number of oblasts in the Ukraine, Belorussia and other republics.

Of course, the task of perfecting medical services and improving the work of transportation, as well as other problems affecting the interests of millions of people, must not be overlooked by the soviets.

Intensifying production and accelerating scientific-technical progress renders the problem of environmental protection more topical and moves it into the forefront. Recently, having analyzed the corresponding practice of soviets in Karelia, the permanent commissions for conservation and the efficient utilization of natural resources under the councils of the USSR Supreme Soviet brought to light a number of serious shortcomings in this important matter and cases of blatant violation of conservation legislation. The necessity to decisively raise the level of the work connected with environmental protection and to be more uncompromising toward transgressors of conservation laws and

more principled in mutual relations with economic leaders, ministries and departments was pointed out to the Council of Ministers for the Karelian ASSR and to the executive committees of the republic's local soviets.

In 1984 the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on additional measures to prevent the pollution of the atmosphere in cities, other populated areas and industrial centers. A paramount role is played by the local soviets and their executive and administrative organs in the implementation of the clauses of this important document. The Soviets could double and triple positive results if they drew activists from the conservation society and other independent popular organizations into this truly national cause which affects the interests of the present and future generations.

All forms of HOUSING CONSTRUCTION are carried out in our country under the leadership of the local organs of power. A significant increase in housing construction on cooperative (almost 19 percent) and individual (10 percent) bases is characteristic this year. This obliges the soviets to increase their attention to such an important matter and to adopt measures to eliminate various kinds of obstacles in the way of its development. A considerable amount will also have to be done in order to improve the work of communal services and to intensify, especially in daily life, the regime of economizing energy resources, primarily fuel, electricity and water.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and also other central institutions, receive a considerable number of letters attesting to serious shortcomings in housing and communal services, cases of heating as well as water supplies being cut off, and red tape and bureaucracy connected with satisfying citizens' legitimate demands. One could cite a considerable number of such examples: From 70 to 80 percent of the letters sent to the center relate to problems which must be resolved in the provinces. This problem is not new, but the situation is still only slowly changing for the better. This means a more principled attitude must be shown when investigating complaints, red-tape mongers must be more strictly called to account and control over fulfilling requests made in letters must be intensified. In everything concerning the problems of the Soviet people's work and daily life and the maintenance of proper order, there can be no trivia.

#### IV

Successfully implementing the major transformations planned by the CPSU in the socioeconomic sphere directly depends on THE INITIATIVE AND CREATIVITY OF MILLIONS AND ON THE LEVEL OF CIVIC MATURITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. "...Whatever sphere of party, state or economic work one takes," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "nowhere can we successfully progress forward without relying on the thorough knowledge and the high degree of awareness and culture of all the working people." Hence the party's increased attention to the problems of the formation of the individual and the political, ideological-moral education of the masses. This course, which was given concentrated expression in the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, also obliges the organs of the people's authority to introduce amendments to their activities. Today, as it was noted at the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on the problems of ideological work, it is essential to

once again check the pulse of ideological activities against the high social criteria of their effectiveness and against the country's general working rhythm.

The soviets are called upon to fulfill a whole complex of IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL TASKS under the leadership of the party organs. The prime task is that of instilling in every individual an awareness of the necessity for conscientious work for the general good, a need to work. It is very important to ensure that creative impulse does not come up against indifference, formalism and inertia. At the same time every useful initiative, real steps in increasing labor productivity and work enthusiasm must be given both objective appraisal and every support. Today this is a decisive condition in ensuring that the PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE inherent in our society is consistently and everywhere confirmed in practice. Stricter control must be exercised over the degree of work and the degree of consumption, and a more resolute struggle must be waged against unscrupulous people who strive to give the state less and to receive considerably more than they have earned. All this will make it possible to more closely combine the lofty ideals of socialism with real life and it will serve to further enhance the effectiveness of political-educational work.

Cultivating in every worker--from the leader to the ordinary laborer--a sense of great personal responsibility for the area to which he has been assigned, developing initiative and a creative attitude to the cause and strengthening order--these specialized aims must be a determining factor in all political-educational and mass cultural work conducted by the soviets and their organs. It must be ensured that a high degree of organization and discipline is not simply decreed from above, but that it is given the broadest possible support among the masses and becomes a vital need and personal cause of the working people.

Now increasing responsibility for forming citizens worthy of the era of developed socialism rests with THE LABOR COLLECTIVE--basic cell of socialist society. And this is natural, because it is precisely in the labor collective that the fate of state plans is decided, people are ideologically and morally tempered and the fundamentals of production management are learned. Broad scope for this has been opened up by the Law on Labor Collectives. As was shown in a discussion at one of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions, this law is entering daily life at an increasingly deep level and is having an increasing influence on production, management and people's education. Without disparaging what has been done, it should, however, be admitted that the Law on Labor Collectives is far from "functioning" at full force; in a number of places little has really changed since it was passed.

By exercising their rights, the soviets are called upon to systematically and more actively influence the working rhythm and atmosphere in the collectives and to ensure fuller utilization of production reserves, the establishment of order in every work place and the cultivation of a thrifty and zealous attitude to social wealth. The organs of the people's authority and deputies in close contact with trade union organizations must everywhere create the



conditions for expanding collective forms of work organization and help them to become established in all spheres of production.

The concentration of potential and resources for exerting an ideological, moral influence on all strata of the population is now in progress in the provinces in order to fulfill the decision of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The number of CULTURAL-SPORTS COMPLEXES is growing. Under the leadership of the local soviets, these complexes combine the work of clubs, sports establishments and libraries irrespective of the department to which they belong. The experience of a number of oblasts in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan convincingly confirms that this kind of centralization is to the benefit of the cause and makes it possible to better resolve practical problems. Many soviets are skillfully developing political-educational and organizational work on this basis in worthy preparation for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

Nevertheless, realistically evaluating work done, it is impossible not to admit that there are still a considerable number of unresolved problems here. The chief of these problems, perhaps, is still that of formalism, difficult to eradicate, and infamous mass appraisals, when the effectiveness of efforts made is measured only by the "general range," mass nature and impressive figures. The concrete individual frequently is lost in this approach. Naturally, not only quantitative, but primarily qualitative criteria must be of paramount importance in the soviets' educational work.

In connection with the practical implementation of the GENERAL EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL REFORM it is very important to generalize everything of value that has been accumulated by the organs of power in their leadership of the people's education and to carefully analyze the present practice of combining training with productive work and ensuring the harmonious development of the younger generation. A complex of problems connected with perfecting the national education system, improving work training and strengthening cooperation between teachers and parents, the school and the family, and the school and the labor collective is at the center of attention of the soviets and their executive and administrative organs. A matter of state importance is that of showing constant concern for the people's teacher, for his living conditions and for the prestige of this profession.

Implementation of the school reform is directly connected with the tasks determined by the CPSU Central Committee in the resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of Young People." In the light of this resolution the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has concretized the soviets' tasks for IMPROVING WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE. The essence of the aims set lies in taking the needs and interests of young men and women more fully into account, creating the necessary conditions so that they fully realize themselves to be masters in their native land, and helping to form in them high civic qualities, communist awareness, ideological conviction and the features of the true Soviet character. This is particularly important in the conditions of the intensified ideological antagonism between socialism and capitalism and



attempts by hostile propagandist centers to purposefully influence young people.

The soviets must perfect the activities of cultural and sports establishments and broaden the range of these activities.

They must determinedly suppress the actions of those who, under the guise of "fashionable" creative search in the sphere of club and group work and music and sports leisure, try to cultivate among young workers and students morals alien to us, vulgarity, lack of taste and an apolitical attitude.

An exceptionally important aspect of the work of organs of power is connected with their growing participation in PERFECTING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP, FRATERNITY AND COOPERATION BETWEEN ALL OF OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES. Last year the Soviet people celebrated the important anniversaries of a number of union republics and their communist parties--Uzbekistan, Moldavia, Kirgizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia--as they would their own great holidays.

Embodying the unity of the international and the national in their structure and in their activities, the soviets are called on to seriously look into the nature of the national problem in the form in which it exists in the conditions of developed socialism and they must introduce organizational forms and methods of work which have justified themselves. At the same time, new forms and methods must also be found which will be conducive to the further flourishing of nations and their drawing together. The problems of cultivating in Soviet people a sense of patriotism, a correct understanding of the correlation between general state and national interests and also a great sense of responsibility for fulfilling primarily those tasks upon which the growth of the motherland's economic and defense might depend, as well as the sociopolitical and ideological unity of our society, must be constantly in the soviets' field of vision.

Of the entire aggregate of educational tasks one of the most important is that of perfecting WORK IN PLACES OF RESIDENCE which makes it possible to influence all strata of the population and to reach literally every family, every individual. Experience in this kind of work, experience which deserves to be extensively spread, is to be found in virtually every union republic. It is important to emphasize that steady results are achieved where the interests of the different strata of the population are fully taken into account, where businesslike contacts are established between party organizations and territorial deputy groups, and where the organs of public self-initiative operate actively and to the point, rather than formally.

## V

Fulfilling the tasks of the country's socioeconomic development and the education of the new man is most closely connected with CONSOLIDATING OUR STATE'S LEGAL BASIS AND PERFECTING LEGISLATION. Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to enhancing the education, organizational role of acts passed by the new power. "DECREES ARE INSTRUCTIONS CALLING FOR MASS PRACTICAL ACTION," he noted. "...And the task of the decree lies in teaching practical steps to

those hundreds, thousands and millions of people who heed the voice of the soviet authorities" (op. cit., vol 38, p 199).

Having absorbed the wisdom and the will of the people, our laws are not only legal acts, but also most important political documents. They protect the interests of the state and civil rights, help to increase the efficiency of the economy and increase labor productivity, and are aimed at establishing firm collectivist principles in society and at struggling against various kinds of antipodes of socialism. This is why the party guards the authority of the law and persistently strives to ensure that all state and social organs strictly implement its norms and that respect for the law is the profound personal conviction of every Soviet individual.

In recent years the organization of legislative work in the country has risen to a qualitatively new level and it has become the rule, in particular, to extensively discuss draft laws in the labor collectives and in public. One cannot permit legislation to grow obsolete, even in just a few sectors, and to almost become a brake on progress. The requirements of practice today set the task of drawing up a plan for preparing legislative acts for the next five-year period and for the more long-term, up to the year 2000 inclusive. In this respect, of course, each plan must come from the requirements of life.

In full accordance with party directives, the soviets of people's deputies ARE INTENSIFYING CONTROL OVER THE PRECISE AND STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN LAWS and strive to ensure that every legal norm actively "operates" and is a constantly functioning factor in strengthening law and order and conscious discipline. Life itself today makes increasingly high demands on the individual for the strictest possible observance of laws and the fulfillment of responsibilities incumbent on him. It is exceptionally important that the struggle for law and order is waged across the entire front and that in every collective, as well as in citizens' residences, a climate of general intolerance is created toward any kind of ugly phenomena alien to our way of life--drunkenness, parasitism, bribe-taking, embezzlement and black-marketeering. It is clear that success in this sphere is primarily determined by the efficient and precise work of the organs of internal affairs, justice, the court and the office of the prosecutor and by their close cooperation with the broad public. And that is why the task of the soviets is to more strictly and exactly deal with accountable organs responsible for protecting the law, strive to ensure that they worthily fulfill the duties incumbent on them, help to further develop the social activeness of the working people and more extensively involve them in the struggle against antisocial manifestations. It should be emphasized that, in contemporary conditions, control and verification of fulfillment as a whole are becoming a particularly important lever in improving matters in virtually every sector of socialist construction. This was fully confirmed at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers. Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech given at the Conference contains a concrete program for further perfecting control activities and for ensuring the active participation of the broad masses of the working people in these activities and it also indicates that every Soviet individual is called upon to realize that he is a people's controller and that he should think and act in conformity with this great civic duty.

A considerable amount of experience has also been accumulated by soviets of people's deputies in the sphere of control activities. Nevertheless, as was noted at the April Plenum, communist deputies and party groups in the soviets still have something to work on here. They must everywhere strive to ensure that the organization of fulfillment is of a systematic nature and that it is the main basis in the activities of every organ of power and every unit of the state apparatus. In this respect, it is important to ensure that verification is conducted on a broad front, with the participation of the masses, and that control is organically combined with organizational work. Not the quantity of memoranda and measures taken, but primarily detailed analysis of achievements and omissions, a strict, critical approach and the rendering of practical aid. This is an indispensable requirement in control work both in the center and in the provinces.

## VI

The Soviet people have to fulfill their peaceful, creative tasks in an EXCEPTIONALLY COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. Aspiring to world supremacy, U.S. ruling circles are whipping up the arms race more and more, increasing military expenditure, building up their nuclear missile potential and blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of other states and peoples.

The Soviet Union offers a constructive and realistic alternative to the adventurist course followed by U.S. militarists and their allies--a clear and precise program for peace and international cooperation, and it persistently continues to wage the difficult struggle, a struggle vitally important to the fate of the peoples, for an improvement in the international situation. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko has noted, the Leninist policy of peace "is in the vital interests of the Soviet people and basically of all other peoples in the world. And we determinedly say: "We will not deviate one step from this policy."

The consistent implementation of the foreign policy course of the party and the state is a most important sphere of activity for the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. Proceeding from the directives of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the work of the permanent committees for foreign affairs is being activated and the framework of this work is being expanded. Cooperation with parliament in foreign countries is being given new and deeper content. The Supreme Soviet has recently made a number of principled statements on topical international problems; the Presidium has approved plans for developing parliamentary relations, regularly examines the results of visits and ratifies international treaties. Contacts made by the USSR parliamentary group and organs of power in twin cities are of an active nature.

Cooperation with socialist countries will also henceforth consistently and comprehensively develop. This cooperation includes joint actions in the international arena in the struggle for peace and reciprocal familiarization with work experience and it serves the cause of cultivating internationalist sentiments and strengthening friendship between socialist countries.

Relations with developing states are expanding. The task lies ahead of actively opposing aggressive imperialist circles while at the same time



utilizing all levers for improving cooperation with those countries that are prepared to help lessen international tension and create an atmosphere of trust in the world through practical acts.

All this is called upon to serve the main goal--to ensure favorable international conditions for the peaceful life and work of the Soviet people and to remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe from mankind.

While increasing our efforts in the struggle for peace and the bridling of the arms race, it is essential, as the great Lenin emphasized, to comprehensively STRENGTHEN THE DEFENSE CAPABILITIES OF THE SOVIET STATE. The Soviets must also actively participate in the fulfillment of this exceptionally responsible task by devoting tireless attention to the problems of the military-patriotic education of young people and their training for service in the Soviet Army, as well as to other aspects of work connected with strengthening the country's defense capabilities.

This is particularly important in conditions when imperialist admirers of various kinds of "crusades" conduct themselves in an increasingly provocative fashion, while striving to break the existing parity at all costs and to "abolish" the laws of social development. However, no one can halt our advancing progress, which is in the vital interests of the Soviet people. Our enemies must firmly grasp this. One would like to believe that the forthcoming important anniversary--the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War--will serve as a severe warning to them.

"As a result of the whole of our preceding development," Comrade K. U. Chernenko notes in his article "To the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism," and in the course of the vast amount of creative work done by the party and the people in order to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, we have reached the point where we can and we must PROGRESS FORWARD, ORIENTING OURSELVES TOWARD THE HIGHEST AND MOST EXACTING IDEAS ON SOCIALISM DEVELOPED BY SCIENTIFIC THEORY."

The Soviets of people's deputies are also called upon to make their own contribution to fulfilling the historic tasks determined by the party.

On 24 February, as a result of the elections, a large detachment of the most authoritative people will join the ranks of our organs of power. An exceptionally great responsibility rests with them--to stand at the helm of state government during the period of direct preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress, and then during the practical implementation of the decisions it adopts. There is no doubt that these best representatives of the workers, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all strata of Soviet society will also henceforth walk in the vanguard of the builders of a new life, honorably fulfill the duties incumbent on them and justify the great faith of the party and the people.

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## POLITICAL METHODS IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

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[Article by G. Posiveyev, Mari CPSU Obkom first secretary]

[Text] The land of the soviets has entered the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The party members and all Soviet people are actively preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress. The party--the inspirer and organizer of all of our victories and accomplishments--is comprehensively analyzing and interpreting the acquired practical experience and seeking effective means for resolving the large-scale problems of perfecting the developed socialist society, adopting everything that is valuable and progressive and firmly rejecting that which is obsolete and which hinders successful progress.

Socialism made radical changes in all realms of social progress. However, the party teaches us realistically to assess accomplishments and to be able to see not only successes but shortcomings and omissions as well; we must not only see them but actively contribute to making all sides of life in Soviet society entirely consistent with the higher scientific concepts of socialism. The comprehensive work of the CPSU at the present stage is precisely concentrated on ensuring the solution of the extensive and complex set of problems related to such matters.

As we know, the economy is the foundation for the implementation of social and political tasks and strengthening the country's defense capability. Relevant to this day are V. I. Lenin's words. He said that, "...In our country economic matters are our common affair. This is the policy which interests us most" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 43, p 330). That is precisely why the efforts of the party and the people are directed above all toward the comprehensive intensification of the economy on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the all-round perfecting of the means and methods of socialist and economic management, for only thus can we lay the most progressive material and technical base, consistent with the strict dimensions of developed socialism, and to ensure a qualitatively new standard of well-being for the Soviet people.

The 26th CPSU Congress earmarked a specific work program in this area. The main tasks of the country's economic and social development were profoundly and comprehensively analyzed in the materials of the February, April and

October 1984 Party Central Committee Plenum and the speeches and addresses by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. His article "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism" is a major document which defines our guidelines for the present and the future.

The successful implementation of the tasks raised by life requires the further enhancement of the level of the party's leadership and the intensification of party-political activities among the masses. What makes this even more important is the tremendous volume of work lying ahead of us.

The scale of such work may be judged also by the tasks which face the Mari ASSR. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the republic industrial output must increase by 46 percent and labor productivity in this leading economic area by 37 percent. A major capital construction program was drafted and is being implemented. The transportation system must increase its freight haulage by nearly 25 percent. The gross output of agricultural commodities in the public sector must be increased by 17.5 percent. The entire increase in agricultural output must be the result of intensive factors in the development of the sector, higher labor productivity above all.

The long-term work plan of the CPSU Obkom for implementing the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress defines the main trends in the party's support of the solution of economic problems. Subsequent to the oblast party conference which was held last year, the plan was amended in accordance with acquired experience, the specific circumstances, the resolutions of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenums and Comrade K. U. Chernenko's instructions and recommendations.

The efforts which were made and daily party concern for economic and social development are yielding positive results. In the first 4 years of the five-year plan the volume of industrial output in the republic increased by 35 percent. Labor productivity in industry increased by 29 percent. Assignments on mastering new types of commodities and consumer goods, application of progressive technologies and mechanization and automation of production processes are being successfully implemented. The capacities of construction organizations have increased and capital investment effectiveness has been enhanced. This enabled us significantly to increase asset availability in all economic sectors.

A number of important steps were taken to ensure the further intensification of the agroindustrial sector of the economy within the framework of the implementation of the country's Food Program and the plans for the development of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone. The use of organic and chemical fertilizers, irrigated land and equipment improved. The animal feed base is strengthening. The production and sale to the state of crop and animal husbandry products increased. For the past 3 years state orders for the sale of agricultural commodities have been met successfully.

In 1984 many economic sectors in the republic successfully coped with their assignments for above-plan increases in labor productivity and lowering of production costs. The struggle for economy and thrift is being waged more

effectively. This was greatly assisted by the extensive introduction of individual thrift accounts, use of resource-saving equipment and progressive technologies and energizing the work of people's control groups and posts.

While objectively assessing our achievements, we clearly realize that many shortcomings remain in the implementation of economic tasks. A number of labor collectives which benefit from extensive capital investments are wasting substantial funds and materials and failing to obtain the necessary returns from them. The share of superior quality industrial output does not exceed 32 percent of the volume of output subject to certification. Some collectives fail to implement their plans and socialist obligations. Some party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are still sluggishly resolving problems of agricultural production intensification, failing to display the proper persistence in implementing steps to improve the financial and economic activities of economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the use of progressive forms of labor organization and wages.

Today the growth of the political, general educational and professional-skill standards of the people enable us to observe more strictly the most important principles governing the selection, renovation and consolidation of cadres, to take their political and practical qualities more fully into consideration and to achieve an optimal combination between experienced and beginning workers, while efficiently observing the principles of democratic centralism.

In recent years the republic has significantly improved the qualitative structure of industrial, transportation, communication, construction, kolkhoz and sovkhos managers.

The oblast party organization is proud of the large number of production leaders it has promoted, who are displaying competence, persistence and initiative in their work and who show daring and a developed feeling of responsibility and are skillfully educating people and directing the energy of labor collectives toward the successful implementation of production assignments.

Hero of Socialist Labor V. G. Novikov, chairman of the Order of Lenin Rassvet Kolkhoz, Sovetskiy Rayon, enjoys a deserved reputation among workers in the agroindustrial complex in the republic. Vladimir Gavrilovich, who makes a profound study of economic problems, pays tireless attention to the application of the achievements of science and progressive experience. In his practical activities he steadily relies on the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations at the farm. He deals extensively with matters related to the implementation of his obligations as member of the CPSU Obkom and the party's raykom bureau and as deputy to the Mari Supreme Soviet. V. G. Novikov is a true educator in his collective. He is frequently seen also with the students in the local secondary school and for the past 3 years has sponsored one of the groups of the rural vocational-technical school in the kolkhoz.

Some of the most important tasks of all party organizations are to develop in economic cadres the type of thinking directed toward initiative and socialist enterprise, enhancing responsibility and creative search for ways leading to the best possible end national economic results with the lowest possible



outlays. Such problems are being successfully resolved by the collective of the Yoshkar-Ola Elektroavtomatika Plant. It was among the first in the republic to apply the comprehensive quality control system, which was subsequently developed and reorganized into a comprehensive system for upgrading production efficiency. The enterprise is successfully applying current-calendar planning and extensively using computers, industrial robots and new progressive technological processes. Thanks to the systems approach, for a number of years the plant has had no failures in fulfilling its procurement delivery obligations based on contracts. In the first 4 years of the five-year plan its volume of output increased by more than 42 percent, almost all of it as a result of higher labor productivity. Three-quarters of the entire output bears the state Emblem of Quality. The plant is completing the formulation of a plan for production intensification for the 12th Five-Year Plan based on the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The Leningrad experience, approved by the CPSU Central Committee, is being used in this area. Let us note that the innovative approach to the work is being clearly manifested in all such work by the primary party organization (V. G. Kazarinov, secretary) and administration of the plant (director I. N. Zhuravlev).

The number of economic managers displaying a contemporary method of economic thinking is continuing to increase. Unfortunately, however, there are also those who continue to follow the old method and operate by inertia. Much more further efforts will be needed for all economic managers to be on the level of the tasks of the present and, even more so, the future.

The successful solution of the problems of ensuring all sectors with managers, who can knowledgeably manage the production process, willingly train their subordinates and create a healthy moral-psychological climate and efficient labor rhythm in the collective, largely depends on the proper organization of the work with the cadre reserve. Therefore, before making a worker part of the promotion reserve, the party organizations try comprehensively to study his moral-political and practical qualities. Every year the party oblast committee refines the cadre reserve for positions listed in the obkom's nomenclature, and studies the extent to which it is used in replacing leading personnel. The same practice has been established in the party's gorkoms and raykoms.

The republic is developing an efficient system for cadre training. Republic, city and rayon courses for the party-economic aktiv have become an important method for upgrading the ideological and theoretical standards of leading personnel. Production training, based on rayons, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses which offer positive experience in the organization of labor and production and efficient utilization of equipment and modern technology, has been organized on a differentiated basis, in accordance with the specifics of the individual economic sectors.

Practice in progressive collectives and republic organizations has yielded good results in training and upgrading the skills of leading cadres. Essentially, this training method is used for young workers lacking the necessary skills in party and economic work. This enables them to broaden their outlook and understanding of problems, become more familiar with



management and administrative mechanisms and with means and methods of organizational activities. Furthermore, this enables us to test the personnel through specific work and to single out the most capable and promising among them. Equally useful is practical training in the best collectives of other oblasts and republics in the country. In particular, the study of the experience of leading farms in the Belorussian SSR, the Soviet Baltic republics and Moscow and Leningrad oblasts enabled us practically to undertake the use in the republic of scientifically substantiated crop-growing and animal husbandry systems.

However, unintended blunders and errors are still allowed to occur in our cadre policy. In some cases managers are appointed casually and hastily, without a thorough study of their practical and moral qualities. As a result, some of them fail to cope with their assignments and to justify the confidence placed in them. As a rule, such cases are the result of the fact that the promotion of a person was not the result of consultation with the primary party organization and those who know him. The CPSU Obkom works to eliminate such shortcomings and to ensure the broadest possible discussion of promotion candidates.

Training young worker replacements, who can resolve the difficult problems raised by life skillfully and knowledgeably, is a subject of particular concern of the oblast party organization. We have the necessary conditions to achieve this. The republic's schools train specialists for virtually all economic sectors. The vocational-technical schools alone, in which about one-third of graduates of eighth and 10th grade schools annually enroll, offer training in 86 different worker skills. Cadres are being trained in 78 skills in three VUZs and 14 technicums.

The schools, public organizations and labor collectives are working hard to develop in the young people professional pride and a feeling of belonging to the leading class in our society. This is also the purpose of the annual rallies of secondary school and vocational-technical school graduates. Thus, last year meetings were held between senior classmen and vocational-technical school students and heads of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic bodies.

Problems of youth vocational guidance and labor training of secondary school students and professional training of boys and girls are no longer exclusively the competence of the department of science and schools of the party obkom. The sectorial department of the obkom and the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms have also changed their attitude toward them. Today they regularly consider problems of further improving the quality of training of cadres, upgrading training and educational work standards, strengthening the material facilities of schools and organizing the productive labor of students.

All of this enables us to meet better the needs of the national economy for skilled cadres and, on this basis, to ensure the more efficient solution of economic problems. However, substantial shortcomings remain in directing young people toward worker professions and training a worth reinforcement of the ranks of the working class. The work of some general education and

vocational-technical schools is still below the level of contemporary requirements and the prestige of some professions remains low.

The reform of the general education and professional schools provides inexhaustible opportunities for radically improving the labor upbringing and professional guidance of young people and training skilled cadres. "We expect of the reform," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "economic, cadre returns as well." Our republic as well invests great hope in the reform. That is why we ascribe tremendous importance to this truly party- and nationwide project.

The primary party organizations play a decisive role in the practical implementation of the party's economic policy. Using their specific means and methods, they successfully mobilize the masses for the implementation of adopted resolutions. Based on the experience and achievements of the leading collectives, the party organizations steadily perfect the leadership of the socialist competition, directing the efforts of the working people to the solution of radical economic problems, such as accelerating the growth of labor productivity, upgrading production quality, and saving on raw and other materials, fuel and energy. Great attention is paid to the better utilization of productive capital, certification of work places, strict implementation of commodity procurement plans, setting technically substantiated labor norms, applying brigade cost accounting and fulfilling assignments with fewer workers and lower outlays.

The political nature of the party's leadership is expressed with particular emphasis in the democratic organization of all activities of the party itself. It is very important, therefore, for the party organizations to pay tireless attention to the steady development of the democratic principles of management while exerting their influence on the economic and the other areas of life, so that they may set the example of high-level organization, strict observance of party discipline and efficient implementation of party decisions.

Based on the stipulations of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and Comrade K. U. Chernenko's instructions and recommendations, each party organization must clearly define its line and tactics in resolving economic and social problems and, on this basis, achieve high results in the struggle for production efficiency and work quality. It was on the basis of such positions that a discussion of the materials of the February, April and October 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums was held in the republic, exposing omissions, identifying possibilities of improving economic activities and earmarking specific measures for upgrading the efficient utilization of available resources.

With a view to increasing the party's influence on the production affairs of labor collectives, the CPSU obkom, gorkoms and raykoms are steadily perfecting the structure of the primary party organizations. Over the past 4 years 69 new shop party organizations and 149 party groups have been set up. Temporary party and party-Komsomol groups have proved their usefulness in production subunits established for the purpose of implementing practical assignments. This system is particularly extensively used at construction projects and

major agricultural campaigns. Such party subunits, set up in the key areas of the production process, directly influence the implementation of planned assignments. That is why such great attention is paid to enhancing their role in developing among the working people high political consciousness and moral qualities, strengthening socialist discipline and establishing proper order and organization.

The institution of party organizers has become an efficient force in providing party support for economic tasks. The party organizations assign the most authoritative and active party members to important production sectors where no possibility of setting up party units or party organizations exists, as their representatives. Currently the oblast party organization has more than 2,000 such organizers. The developing system for their training considerably helps to upgrade the work standards of party organizers. Many of them have proved themselves skillful promoters of the party line in the primary cells of labor collectives. For example, Ye. P. Motorov, assemblyman at Construction Administration No 1, Marstroytrest imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, is honorably fulfilling his party assignment. As the person in charge of mass political work in the brigade and of organizing the socialist competition within it, he finds successful methods for influencing the people and harnessing their efforts for the solution of most important production tasks.

Political influence on economic activities is determined to a decisive extent by the way the party members play their vanguard role in labor collectives. Therefore, promoting an active life stance, high principle-mindedness and responsibility for the strict implementation of plans and obligations in every party member is the essence of the work of all party committees and all primary party organizations.

Recently the oblast party organization has become more demanding of the party members for the strict implementation of their production obligations and social assignments. Last year alone, reports and communications were submitted at party meetings and party bureau and committee sessions by more than 10,000 party members; 15,000 individual talks were held with CPSU members and candidate members. Meetings at which the individual contributions of party members to the implementation of the five-year plan and the Food Program, held by the organizations, had a positive influence on enhancing the role of the party members in resolving economic and social problems. The high efficiency of such meetings is explained by the fact that the participation of party members in the implementation of party decisions, their labor activeness, personal behavior, moral features and work on themselves are the subject of principle-minded and strict discussion.

The party member must not remain indifferent to the way his fellow workers work on the job or behave in the collective or at home. He is also responsible for not allowing laggards by his side and for the successes of leading workers and innovators to be shared by all. The party member has no right to tolerate negligence and irresponsibility, to ignore shortcomings or to remain indifferent to phenomena alien to our society.

Due to the great variety of produced items, significant disparities in the professional standards of workers and old work customs, for a long time no



brigades had been organized at the machine shop of the Kontakt imeni 50-Letiya SSSR Plant in Mari. This greatly hindered production development. When the question of applying progressive labor organization and payment methods in the shop was raised, one of the first brigades was headed by party member L. V. Kudryavtsev. Today it is one of the best in the plant. Strong labor discipline has been established and an atmosphere of mutual aid and a feeling of high responsibility for end results have developed in the collective. Thanks to the persistent search for and application of progressive labor methods in production, Kudryavtsev's brigade is steadily overfulfilling its shift assignments on a high-quality level.

Many similar examples in which party members transfer to a lagging sector and turn it into a leading one, becoming attentive tutors of young people, may be cited. Their significance cannot be overestimated. The personal behavior of the party member, his innovative attitude toward labor, conscientious work and moral appearance are guidelines for others and have a deep impact on the life of the entire collective.

Methods of persuasion, organization and education of the masses and close unity between ideological education, organizational and economic activities are being increasingly asserted in the practical work of the party organizations. It is important to note the growing aspiration of the party aktiv to master the art of leadership not through stereotypes and copy book maxims but through the profound and comprehensive interpretation of the tremendous experience of the party and its best organizations and the steady search for efficient means and methods of influencing people. Following the example of the obkom, the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are showing increasing concern for developing the political consciousness and individual responsibility of the party members for the common cause and for upgrading their professional skills and creative activeness.

One of the most efficient forms of participation of the primary organizations in resolving production problems is the work of the commissions which supervise administrative activities. The oblast has more than 750 such commissions which employ more than 3,000 party members and candidate members. They substantially influence all economic life and contribute to the energizing of the struggle for economy and thrift and strengthening discipline and organization.

The comprehensive development of democratic principles in production management is an object of particular concern of the primary party organizations. New possibilities appeared in connection with the extensive application of the collective contracting method. The experience of many brigades, enterprises and construction projects in Yoshkar-Ola, Volzhsk and Kozmodemyansk and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Paranginskiy, Zvenigovskiy and other rayons convincingly proves that, as a rule, the moral climate in collectives which have converted to this work method is healthier; the feeling of collectivism and personal responsibility for assignments is stronger, labor productivity is higher, discipline is firmer and materials and energy are used more efficiently.



The brigade councils, which also work under the guidance of the party organizations, exert a substantial influence on the implementation of production and education tasks. For example, the work of every brigade member at the Kolkhoz imeni Mosolov, Gornomariyskiy Rayon, is discussed by such a council. A points system is used to assess not only quantity and quality but the behavior of the people at home, in the collective and in public. This experience is spreading among other farms as well.

However, there still are party organizations which fail to show the necessary persistence in using the possibilities of the brigade form of labor organization. Not all brigades have developed as united collectives capable of making full use of the advantages of the contracting method. This means that not all party leaderships of primary units in production subunits are on the necessary level. The need is also ripe to create an efficient system of courses and seminars for training, retraining and upgrading the skills of brigade leaders. Today it is precisely the brigade leader who needs more than anyone else a knowledge of education methods, foundations of pedagogy and psychology and firm political and economic training and ability and skill in organizational work.

Nor has the problem of ensuring a permanent party influence in all primary collectives been resolved so far. Many brigades, including those working on the basis of contracts, have no party groups or not a single party member. Intensifying the party's influence in primary production cells is one of the main trends in further upgrading the role of the primary party organizations and their militancy in resolving basic problems of production intensification.

The effectiveness of the organizational-political support of economic construction plans depends to a decisive extent on the style and method of activities of party organizations and the party committee apparatus. Therefore, the CPSU Obkom directs all personnel and activists to study more profoundly the new phenomena and processes which develop in life and to be able efficiently to define prospects and see main features and engage less in paper shuffling and meetings.

Closer interconnection and creative cooperation are being established among departments with a view to the efficient utilization of the forces of party bodies. The sectorial obkom departments and the party gorkoms and raykoms are engaged today not only in resolving problems of economic construction but of intraparty life and political education. At the same time, the personnel of the departments of organizational party work, propaganda and agitation, culture and others, directly participate in the organization of socialist competition, the dissemination of progressive production experience, improvements in the labor organization and wage systems, strengthening discipline, organizing order and resolving social problems.

Perfecting the style of party management of the economy requires the concentration of efforts on the solution of basic problems which determine success in converting the economy to the track of intensification. In order to coordinate this work, the obkom and the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms set up councils for economic and social development, which are actively assisting in the practical utilization of new equipment and progressive technology,

broadening the scale of mechanization and automation of production processes, i.e., carrying out the entire set of measures which determine contemporary scientific and technical progress.

The oblast party organization is also doing a great deal to improve control and verification of execution, to strengthen performing discipline and to enhance exigency toward cadres for the implementation of party and government directives. Specific measures are formulated on each important decree, responsible officials are appointed and implementation deadlines set. The party committee departments organize the practical implementation of all such steps.

Improvements in the workstyle should not be viewed as just one more regular campaign. This is a permanent process which requires the skillful utilization of a variety of means and methods of work. "The style and methods of management," the 26th CPSU Congress noted, "is a matter of importance to the entire party and people. Awareness of this fact and daily and comprehensive observance of Leninist norms are the direct obligations of all party leaders!"

The main feature in the party's leadership is live organizational work in the labor collective. It is precisely here that material and spiritual values are created and the economic power of the homeland is strengthened. It is here that the plans are translated into the language of practice and the assignments earmarked by the party are carried out. It is natural, therefore, for the CPSU obkom to see to it that each labor collective, headed by its party organization, prove its worth better in all realms of social life. Priority on this level is given to concern for the lagging collectives and for creating within them an atmosphere of creative toil and a responsible attitude toward work.

In accordance with CPSU Central Committee instructions, the obkom and the gorkoms and raykoms steadily study the efficiency of the forms and methods of party work used and their consistency with the new tasks which life itself assigns to the party. An interesting discussion on such problems was held, for example, at the obkom plenary meeting at which a report was submitted by the Sovetskiy Party Raykom. A special commission, which included several party raykom secretaries and CPSU obkom members and candidate members studied the activities of the raykom in advance. As a result, the discussion exceeded the range of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Organization. Critical remarks were expressed concerning a number of party committees, secretaries and CPSU obkom departments.

Today problems of improving the party's guidance of the activities of soviets of people's deputies and economic bodies and trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the proper assignment of their functions and elimination of duplication in their work are assuming great importance. This is particularly topical in resolving economic and social problems, which are within the purview of party, state and economic bodies and public organizations. In the final account, all of them are responsible for the implementation of plans and socialist obligations through the use of their specific means and methods of achieving their objectives. Failure to understand this feature and the lack of clear ideas about their obligations and possibilities and lack of a single

coordinated program of action frequently result in work duplication which, in turn, creates a feeling of irresponsibility among the immediate performers.

It is no secret that some economic managers try to shift their concern to the party bodies and that insufficiently experienced and short-sighted party leaders begin to take over the functions of soviet and economic workers and to interfere in their administrative-executive activities in an effort to correct the situation. The authority of the party organ, on behalf of which they act, naturally makes the more efficient solution of problems possible. This creates a misleading reputation of being efficient managers. Frequently the sectorial departments of party gorkoms and raykoms turn from political management subunits to dispatchers, and their personnel become pushers, procurement workers and understudies of economic managers. To the detriment of working with people, they become involved in projects which must be carried out by other bodies and, rather than engaging in systematic and purposeful organizational and educational work, start plugging the holes which open in one economic unit or another.

The party's Central Committee quite timely raised the question of taking more strictly into consideration the specific functions of party, state and economic bodies and eliminating duplication in their work. In implementing CPSU Central Committee instructions, the obkom demands of the party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations to be always guided by the Leninist principles of relations among party, soviet, economic and public organizations in all matters and to see to it that all decisions clearly stipulate who should perform what assignments, so that everyone is doing his own job and bearing full responsibility for it.

Cases of mixing functions are becoming increasingly fewer. A number of examples may be cited in which the party committees, making skillful use of various means and methods of their influence, ensure the clear coordination of activities among soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and the people's control organs, and their close interaction. However, we can still not consider this problem as resolved. To this day obkom, gorkom and raykom party secretaries, department heads, and other party committee personnel continue to waste a great deal of time in discussing and resolving current problems which should be the direct concern of heads of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations. In a word, a great deal more work remains to be done.

While avoiding substituting for soviet and economic organs, the party organizations are steadily enhancing their role in resolving the basic problems of economic and social development. The level of work of the local soviets has significantly improved of late; the activities of deputies directly in their electoral districts and at enterprises and establishments have become energized. A great deal of credit has been earned by territorial and production deputy groups, the permanent commissions and the large aktiv represented by people's controllers, members of the voluntary people's units, comrade courts, housebuilding committees and other public organizations.

Trade union and Komsomol organizations are actively participating in economic construction. More than 10,000 party members and 2,500 Komsomol members hold



elective trade union positions. Party members head more than one-half of trade union committees and primary Komsomol organizations.

However, the tremendous potential of soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol is still being underutilized. Their specific assignments were defined at the latest oblast party conference and at the obkom plenum and meeting of the party aktiv, which discussed ways of implementing the decisions of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Party's Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of the Youth."

The most important structural part of the party's leadership of the economy is giving ideological support to the implementation of economic tasks. Naturally, by themselves ideological activities cannot resolve economic and social problems. As was pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, one should neither ascribe to them all successes nor exclusively blame them for existing shortcomings. The necessary results can be obtained only by blending ideological education with political, organizational and economic activities.

The majority of party organizations have been able to achieve this through the more extensive involvement of leading cadres on all levels in propaganda work. The result has been improvements in holding single policy and open letter days with the participation of heads of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic bodies. Tens of thousands of working people become involved in such measures. The suggestions and recommendations they voice are regularly considered by the party committees. Ideological planning meetings, at which problems of providing ideological support for the implementation of plans and socialist obligations and assigning specific tasks to the aktiv, have become an important means of involving managers in ideological education activities.

The period after the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was marked for us with a search of means of improving the overall system of ideological-political activities and intensifying their importance in providing ideological support in the solution of economic problems. The efforts to upgrade the ideological-theoretical standard and methodical skill of ideological cadres and to keep them informed on most important political, economic and social problems, aimed at resolving topical problems of economic and cultural construction, improved as a result of the steps which were taken. Today the party committees coordinate the educational activities of public organizations and ideological institutions more actively.

The work of the mass information media has become more purposeful and meaningful. They are paying considerable attention to disseminating the achievements of scientific and technical progress and initiatives aimed at perfecting equipment and technology and popularizing new labor and management organization methods. The press is fighting sluggishness and bureaucratism to which it gives a sharp political assessment.

Propagandists working within the political and economic education system are doing a great deal to ensure ideological support of economic assignments. Every January a special class on "Your Socialist Obligation" is taught in all



training systems. Here a serious study is made of and an economic substantiation provided for the levels to be reached by every student. This has contributed to upgrading the labor activeness of the trainees.

We can confidently say today that the political education work done by party organizations has become more specific, purposeful and efficient. This is having a positive impact on the development of the initiative and creativity of the masses, and on strengthening discipline and order, increasing labor productivity and production efficiency, reducing production costs and improving quality and intensifying thrift. However, these are merely the initial steps. We still feel the effect of avoiding acute practical problems and formalism and ostentatiousness in ideological activities. We are still short of aggressiveness and a concrete approach to such work. The oblast party organization is persistently working for the elimination of such weaknesses.

The Soviet people have entered the year of direct and active preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out, this gives a special political meaning to our work, which must take place under the sign of mobilizing all forces for the successful completion of the current five-year plan and laying a good and firm base for the 12th 5-year period.

The party's appeal met with the warm response of working people in Mari ASSR enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is convincingly confirmed by the socialist obligations and counterplans adopted for the final year of the five-year plan. The labor collectives responsibly analyze the results of their work and earmark the practical steps for further production intensification, above-plan increase in labor productivity and reduced production costs, and intensified thrift and thus ensure the strict implementation of the assignment of working 2 days annually with saved resources, and strengthen discipline and organization.

Based on the positive experience acquired by the country's organizations, the republic's party, soviet and economic bodies have undertaken the formulation of plans for economic and social development during the 12th Five-Year Plan and beyond it, the main purpose of which is to upgrade further the contribution of party members and all working people to strengthening the economic and defense power of our homeland and enhancing the well-being of the Soviet people.

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## PERFECTING THE WORK STYLE

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[Article by G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom]

[Text] Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, noted in his article "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism" that "our party sees the way to upgrading the efficient management of society not by reducing its area but improving its method." Therefore, today it is a question of increasing further the party's leading role and upgrading the level of party leadership, the style of which we describe with full justification as Leninist. This is something worth thinking about: the increased mastery of the Leninist work style presumes improvements in the entire set of means and methods of activity practiced by the party on all levels, based on the principle of democratic centralism. The solution of such an important problem will, naturally, require the thorough study of acquired experience, the rejection of obsolete work stereotypes and the painstaking and persistent search for new solutions. Only thus would all party organizations and party committees be able to reach the high level of political leadership consistent with Lenin's requirements, which distinguishes the comprehensive activities of the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo.

It is important for each party organization to achieve not only a proper understanding of the need to master the Leninist work style but also to display tireless concern for the strict practical implementation in all realms of activities of the lofty assignments set by V. I. Lenin to the communist party. Failure to observe this condition by a party organization, or should the cadres to whom the party has entrusted management observe only verbally the Leninist approach to the solution of problems, while abandoning in their daily practical activities, the Leninist principles of leadership and norms of party life, the resulting harm would be considerable.

We must acknowledge that in recent years major shortcomings and omissions have become increasingly noticeable in the activities of the Ulyanovsk Oblast party organization. Frequently people are appointed to leading positions not on the basis of political or practical considerations but as a result of friendships or family relations, on the basis of loyalty to individuals. The struggle against violations of party, state and labor discipline was waged

insufficiently aggressively, frequently on a formal basis, without the necessary principle-mindedness and urgency.

Officially, everything seemed in order. The necessary questions were included in the agenda and discussed, initially on the oblast management level, in the course of which reports and speeches abounded with statements on "style," "scientific approach" and "comprehensive solution," after which the discussion was continued at the lower management levels, where references to style were not forgotten.

The trouble was that the concept of "Leninist style" occasionally turned into a watchword which sounded in the statements of leading workers as an incantation but was rarely backed by a specific organization of the work.

The oblast party organization was able to surmount such negative phenomena. This, in our view, was related above all to a sharp turn in the cadres' attention to asserting a true Leninist style in the activities of party, soviet, economic and public bodies.

Generally speaking, one could say that a study of weaknesses in organizational work blocked by a wall of impressive enumerations on paper of planned measures is no simple matter. Unfortunately, publications on party construction frequently include a rather simplistic approach to the study of complex problems which arise in the practical work of party committees. For example, difficulties in capital construction may exist in an oblast. Suitably, the author of an article or a pamphlet will begin his story with the fact that, having studied the situation, the party obkom reached the conclusion that the question should be considered at a plenum or meeting of the aktiv. Naturally, the fact that this question was discussed and that a respective decree was passed and necessary measures formulated is good. One further expects a story of how, in what way was the party committee able to correct the situation. Instead, however, this is followed by a short author's summary: matters were corrected. At best, this unconvincing conclusion is backed by figures on plan fulfillments. A similiar interpretation of organizational work is quite typical not only of publications on such topics but also reports and addresses submitted by party workers.

What is the puzzling aspect of such cases and what, generally, speaking, makes us doubt the accuracy of the example we cited? Precisely the fact that, after mentioning that measures had been formulated, nothing further is said of the organization of the work itself, the methods used to achieve the objective and how was the objective itself, described as "The situation was corrected" met? Obviously, this is no accident. We know that it is simpler to explain a task than to organize its implementation. Yet, the very concept of "Leninist style of party work" presumes organic unity among political, ideological and organizational work methods. As early as 1894 Lenin recommended to the Russian socialists to adopt the slogan formulated by K. Liebknecht: "Study, Propagandize, Organize" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 309.

We find in Lenin numerous proofs that, depending on specific historical conditions of the revolutionary struggle, the correlation among political,

theoretical and organizational work methods may change. However, they must not be pitted against each other. After the October Revolution victory, when the party directly undertook to manage all social affairs, organization assumed priority. "...Successful management means, in addition to the ability to convince...", Lenin emphasized, "the ability practically to organize. This is the most difficult task...." (op. cit, vol 36, p 173).

The leading and organizing role of the party increases as the tasks become more complex and the scale of communist construction broadens. "Under contemporary conditions," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at his meeting with the personnel of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, on 6 March 1984, "we must orient our activities more toward the organization of the implementation of decisions and verification of execution."

Looking at the situation which developed at the beginning of this five-year plan in our oblast party organization from this viewpoint, we must acknowledge that we could note in its activities the tendency to influence the solution of arising problems of economic and social development primarily with discussions unsupported by organizational work. This inevitably widened the gap between words and actions.

Shifting the accent in the style of management from organizational efforts to statements, as a result of which fashionable phraseology replaces live work with increasing frequency was explained essentially by citing subjective reasons. Some oblast and rayon managers, while themselves grossly violating the norms of party life and social morality, were unable to show strict exigency toward cadres and undermined the people's trust in party and soviet bodies. This also adversely affected the management of industrial and agricultural production and social construction. The oblast lagged in the implementation of the five-year plan in the most important areas.

Most party members realized this that was not the way the oblast party organization should manage its affairs, and that its work style had to be radically amended in a number of areas; the Leninist principles had to be strictly observed in economic management problems, in resolving problems of strengthening party and state discipline, so that the Ulyanovsk organization and become a CPSU detachment, combat-capable in all respects.

It was precisely with such feelings and awareness of their great role and responsibility to the party that the oblast party members gathered for their 19th party conference. The question of the need to enhance the individual responsibility of every obkom member, whatever his party, soviet or economic work may have been, and of every member of the oblast committee apparatus for his assignments, was raised sharply and principle-mindedly. The delegates to the conference did not reelect to the new oblast committee some managers who had failed to achieve the necessary efficiency in their assignments or had compromised themselves. The main virtue considered by the participants was the assertion of the Leninist principles of management and the concentration of the efforts of the entire oblast party organization on the basic trends of socioeconomic development, with a view to achieving high end results.



Work style means method of action. The Leninist lifestyle stimulates to the highest extent the purposeful, interested and dedicated efforts of cadres in organizing the masses for the implementation of key assignments in building socialism and communism.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko steadily pays exceptional attention to problems of perfecting the style and method of activities of the party and state apparatus under developed socialist conditions. At the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum he provided an extensive description of the basic trends in party domestic and foreign policy and the ways and means of attaining said objectives. All most important stipulations contained in his speech, on perfecting the work style and method, clearly demarcating among the functions of party, soviet and economic organs, strengthening organization and order, enhancing cadre responsibility, those of elective party workers above all, observing social justice, and others, became the foundation of the activities of the oblast party organization.

Another requirement stemming from these stipulations is strengthening the organizational functions of the party and state apparatus.

The party obkom drew the attention of party, soviet and economic bodies to on implementing the basic indicators included in the stipulations of the all-union socialist competition, with a view to achieving high and stable end results in production activities. How was the work organized? We know that production management on the territorial level is an exceptionally complex problem. Each area uses "its own" methods for its solution, not always sufficiently proven. The need for such methods has been created by reality. Actually, production activity indicators are planned for the enterprises on a vertical basis--according to their departmental affiliation. Horizontally, however, i.e., on the scale of the territory, most such indicators are either summed up or proven to be uncontrollable. If we truly follow the principle of democratic centralism in organizing the socialist competition, we should ensure, while persistently strengthening the centralizing principle in economic management, the comprehensive development of local initiative and control of all production indicators on the territorial level.

In resolving this problem, the Ulyanovsk party organization set up under the obkom and the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms work groups in charge of coordinating the activities of officials responsible for fulfilling one indicator or another within the oblast, city or rayon. The planning commissions of the local soviets were assigned to do analytical work, including economic forecasting and identifying bottlenecks.

For example, the group responsible to the party obkom bureau for ensuring the implementation of planned assignments on the volume of industrial output consists of personnel of the sectorial obkom departments, the oblast executive committee, the oblast trade union committee, the statistical administration and the oblast plan, the deputy directors of enterprises in charge of production affairs and the chief mechanics. It is headed by the obkom's chief of the industrial-export department. The group meets once every 10 days for a preliminary summing up of the results of the implementation of the plan for the production of commodity output and production growth. The enterprises

where a real threat of plan nonfulfillment exists are identified; monthly results are projected and the steps which must be taken by the enterprises and the respective management organs to ensure the strict implementation of assignments are earmarked.

At the start of the third 10-day period of the month, the work group summons the heads of the industrial-transportation departments of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, who are thoroughly informed of the situation and the necessary recommendations. In order to prevent the waste of effort and duplication, at this point the steps which must be respectively taken by the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms are formulated. This type of organization has yielded tangible results. The basic economic indicators are being steadily reached currently. In 1984 the oblast's industry produced above-plan goods worth 74 million rubles, and the growth rates of output reached 104.5 percent.

The same method is practiced by the work groups in charge of upgrading labor productivity and production quality and observing contractual obligations for commodity procurements and the implementation of other indicators. Furthermore, by the middle of every month the respective managers report to the CPSU obkom on the course of implementation of the steps taken for reaching the economic indicators under their control and substantiate their estimates. This approach enables us to control economic processes rather than record them retrospectively.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism in economic management is practically embodied in the development of bilateral measures based on the "ministry-enterprise" system. The essence of this organizational method for production intensification and accelerating the socioeconomic development of collectives is as follows: In the past, one problem or another was resolved (or not) by the enterprise depending on the level of activeness of its managers and the "effectiveness" of their connections with the central department. Occasionally, matters depended on the willingness or unwillingness of either side to deal with the problem. Now, on the initiative of the party obkom, the leading oblast enterprises scientifically substantiate the most important trends in the socioeconomic development of collectives through 1990, subsequently considered and approved by the respective ministries and departments. Let us point out that not a single one of them has opposed our suggestions. In turn, the superior economic management organs set to their subordinate enterprises in the oblast an array of assignments related to the development of the sector. It is thus that such counterproposals lead to the formulation of mutually coordinated work programs backed by corresponding resources and organizational steps. The purpose of the implementation of such bilateral measures is to turn our enterprises into model establishments in terms of technical availability, production standards and level of development of their social infrastructure. In the period of preparations for the party obkom plenum, at which the acceleration of scientific and technical progress was considered, such measures were formulated and adopted at the Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, the Machine-Building Plant imeni Volodarskiy, and many others.

The following question may arise: is the creation of work groups to coordinate activities necessary, considering that the party committees have respective departments dealing with such matters? In this case, however, it is not a question of setting up additional bodies similar to the various types of staffs and commissions which frequently duplicate the functions of party committee bureaus, secretariats and departments or each other, merely creating the appearance of implementing assigned tasks. We consider work groups a quite efficient method for combining efforts, consistent with existing conditions, and surmounting many-faceted departmentalism, as well as a sui generis school for cadres, which helps them to master the skills of practical organizational work, aimed at achieving final results. In other words, the purpose of work coordination groups is to enhance the organizational functions of the party apparatus which, in our view, is entirely consistent with the Leninist principle of management. "Organization," Lenin wrote, "means unity of action...." (op. cit., vol 14, p 126).

Thanks to the coordinated work of the personnel of the party and soviet apparatus, with the help of the coordination groups, in 1984 the economic management bodies were able to meet all basic indicators included in the stipulations of the all-union socialist competition. For example, the plan for increasing labor productivity had not been fulfilled for the first 3 years of the five-year plan. Its growth outstripped the planned assignment in 1984. As a result, this most important indicator was overfulfilled by 1.8 percent for the first 4 years of the five-year plan. For the first time, a significant above-plan lowering of production costs was achieved.

Joint efforts presume the personal responsibility of every manager for a strictly defined work sector and end results, thus contributing to the more accurate determination of his obligations and the contribution of all co-performers to the common cause. The coordination groups were precisely the lever with which the party obkom, involving the various categories of senior personnel in organizational activities, was able to convert from appeals and declarations to the practical demarcation of functions among party, soviet and economic bodies.

As we know, success in any project is decided by cadres. The system of their selection, placement and training has a determining influence on the style of party leadership.

The work initiated in the oblast on demarcating among the functions of party, soviet and economic organs brought to light a number of faults in their activities. A confusion among such functions had encouraged some senior comrades to manage "in general," without paying too much attention to their own contribution to the successful implementation of assignments. They managed indifferently. Here again, at the proper time, they submitted reports on general results, sometimes achieved despite them and without their personal participation. Practical experience convincingly proves the entire groundlessness of such management style. What happens is the following: a senior worker sits in his office all day long. People come to him to discuss urgent matters. He pretends to undertake their solution. An outsider looking at such a manager would see him plunged in active work. However, an investigation would reveal that it is not he who is managing the project and



that he is personally unable actively to affect the course of the work and to determine the way to reach the target.

We should get rid of such pseudomanagers the sooner the better, replacing them with competent specialists, who will carry the title of party member high and who are able radically to improve matters.

For a long time the oblast allowed breakdowns in agricultural complex management. It had become a custom, whenever plans for the production of agricultural commodities failed, to blame the weather. The disproportion between production and procurements increased with every passing year: concerned with the implementation of plans for the sale of commodities to the state at all cost, the party committees and economic management organs failed to pay proper attention to the growth of output. Despite the substantial help provided by the party and the state, the land reclamation program in the oblast failed. The animal husbandry feed base fell seriously behind.

After strengthening the leadership of the agroindustrial complex, the party obkom assigned it to ensure a production upsurge and to streamline management of the work of sectors within the complex.

The need for mechanizer and animal husbandry cadres was established for each kolkhoz and sovkhos and reinforcement sources were identified. By decision of the oblast party committee, secretaries, bureau members and the head of the agriculture and food industry department of the oblast party committee who were assigned to areas in which great personnel shortages were experienced, to organize systematic work in each one of these rayons. Scientific farming systems were thoroughly reworked in all rural rayons. Taking the adverse weather conditions into consideration, in order to ensure the proper wintering of the cattle in the 1984/85 season, we redistributed resources among rayons, involved the population in feed procurement work and lowered feed purchase prices.

Merely as a result of improving the organization of the work, the oblast procured a substantial quantity of livestock feed in 1984, although this was an inordinately droughty year. Despite the drought, for the first time in many years no feed was brought from other parts of the country, for our own reserves were used maximally. Although conditions for feed procurements were significantly worse than during the first year of the five-year plan, meat production increased. Annual purchasing assignments were fulfilled for the first time in 10 years, in both 1983 and 1984. The implementation of plans for the sale of all basic types of animal husbandry output were fulfilled as well. In accordance with the resolutions of the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the obkom party plenum drafted measures for major improvements in land reclamation, currently under implementation.

Naturally, replacing a manager is an extreme measure. The main road to success is to increase exigency toward cadres and the use of the type of means and methods of influence which would encourage the people to change and perfect their work style.



The practice of updating the characteristics of officials is an effective means of upgrading cadre responsibility. The personal file of a member of the nomenclature of the CPSU obkom bureau is considered at the weekly sessions of the secretariat or the CPSU obkom bureau. The positive qualities and shortcomings of the manager are recorded and recommendations on their elimination are issued. The approved personal file is sent to the central department the nomenclature of which includes said official.

The objectivity of such assessments is achieved by the fact that such evaluations are discussed in advance by the primary party organizations. The same document is considered at the meeting of the work group on upgrading decision efficiency. The managers are invited for a discussion at the respective obkom department. As a rule, the party member realizes the objective nature of the evaluation.

It is true that initially some managers, including senior ones, loudly voiced their disapproval of such practices. Obviously, they were not to everyone's taste, above all to those with a negative evaluation (there were such cases).

This occurred whenever negative qualities were found in the official, which, if not eliminated, would deprive him of the moral right to manage. In such cases, the party member is given advice on how to correct existing shortcomings and a deadline is set for a new evaluation.

In the final account, objectivity, well-wishingness in the consideration of such evaluations, the public nature of the discussion and the desire of the party committees to help a person to realize his shortcomings and errors and instill in him the confidence that such shortcomings could be eliminated and difficulties surmounted, was welcomed with satisfaction by the overwhelming majority of party and nonparty members. An eloquent confirmation of this were the numerous letters sent to party committees, expressing approval of the practice of updating personal files. The practice has become firmly established now not only in party but also in soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies.

The combination of willingness with principle-minded exigency and party strictness in work with cadres is a mandatory prerequisite of a Leninist style. In describing party cadre policy under contemporary conditions in his article "On the Level of Requirements of Developed Socialism," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out that "naturally, it is not a question of some kind of extraordinary campaign or cadre 'shake-up.' What we need is long-term calm and thoughtful work. At the same time, cadre policy includes many sensitive problems, speaking frankly, which require not words but urgent practical solutions. We must wage even more decisively a struggle against all kinds of abuses of official position and manifestations of protectionism and support of fellow countrymen. In this case the Central Committee will allow no leeway, for this is a political problem, a problem of the party's authority and the trust of the masses."

The party obkom has significantly increased its strictness toward managers who allow violations of the norms of party discipline and morality. Thus, A. I. Shein, the now ex-first secretary of the Radishchevskiy CPSU Raykom, failed to

maintain leadership on the necessary level for a long period of time. Exigency toward cadres in the rayon was lowered and economic abuses, padding and whitewashing were allowed to occur. Agricultural output declined sharply and the five-year plans were not being fulfilled. Such unsuitable management style was given a principle-minded assessment and the secretary was transferred to another position. Nor did I. V. Kistanov, former first secretary of the Inzenskiy party kraykom, justify the trust of the party members. Bureaucratic methods predominated in his work. He was rude and disrespectful toward the people. His greed led him to abuse his official position. The party obkom relieved Kistanov of his job.

The reasons for the release of both secretaries and the strict party criticism to which they were subjected at the rayon party committee plenums were reported in detail in the oblast newspaper. We realized yet once again that wide publicity in assessing such negative facts not only does not harm the work but, conversely, contributes to developing a healthy public opinion, excludes misinterpretations and, at the same time, develops in party members intolerance of manifestations of secrecy and lack of principle-mindedness in resolving cadre problems.

Such publicity is a necessary element of the Leninist work style. The Soviet state, Lenin wrote, "must organize on a broad, planned, systematic and open basis the selection of the best workers for economic construction, administration and organization on a specialized, general, local and national scale" (op. cit., vol 43, p 280).

A great variety of methods for developing a high feeling of responsibility for assignments in managers exist. The managers of the respective subunits must report on the implementation of their obligations at sessions of the obkom bureau, the party gorkoms and raykoms and the soviet bodies. It has also become standard practice for the candidacy of an official nominated to a responsible position to be discussed by the collective of which he is a member.

For example, before recommending A. V. Yefremov, chairman of the Baryshskiy rayon executive committee, for the position of first secretary of the Radishchevskiy CPSU raykom, the nomination was discussed by the collective in which he worked. The possibility of promoting to second secretary of the Leninskiy party raykom Ye. S. Balandin, deputy secretary of the party committee at the Instrument-Making Production Association, was openly discussed by the primary party organization of which he was a member. The candidacy of V. F. Gruzdev, manager of the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika Association, who was subsequently appointed first secretary of the Melekesskiy CPSU raykom, was initially comprehensively discussed by the collective of association specialists and the rayon party committee plenum.

All of this helps us to avoid errors in selecting managers. It is no accident that the renovation of cadres which has taken place of late for a variety of reasons was accompanied by higher work standards reached in the sectors headed by the new people.

It would be difficult to overestimate the comprehensive effect of the public acknowledgment of errors by managers at a party committee plenum or party membership meeting. In addition to everything else, principle-minded self-criticism prevents the slandering of senior workers, which still occasionally occurs. It motivates the people to mend their ways faster and is good training in moral upbringing both for those who acknowledge their errors and the entire collective. Self-criticism is a very effective preventive tool, blocking a variety of misuses and helping unstable people to conquer the temptation of violating the stipulations of party bylaws or Soviet laws. Our efforts to develop criticism and self-criticism are already yielding results. Characteristically, the flow of complaints against party members who have openly acknowledged their errors has ended.

Unquestionably, in undertaking to strengthen discipline and bring order within each labor collective, the party raykom, gorkom and obkom managers must begin with themselves. That is why we have begun to hold sessions of party committee bureaus without specific requested attendance. At such sessions a strict yet informal discussion takes place of the work of the bureau members and the elected aktiv of their strong and weak sides; the individual contribution of managers to the common project is frankly discussed on the basis of issued assignments and positions.

Two such party obkom bureau sessions were held in 1984, as well as a meeting with the first secretaries of CP and rayon party committees and a conference seminar for the obkom members, at which a frank and principle-minded discussion of the special responsibility of every party member, who is also a member of the party organ, was held.

The obkom apparatus is steadily perfecting its work as well. The role of the secretariat as the organizing nucleus has been enhanced; the procedure for conferences, summoning managers and receiving visitors has become strictly regulated. The systematic training of the personnel has been organized, etc. Furthermore, systematic training is given to the elective party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol aktivs. Stricter demands are made of the party members working in these bodies.

We are trying comprehensively to improve the content of the activities of the party obkom and to upgrade their effectiveness. Items submitted for discussion at plenums and aktiv meetings are being selected more carefully; their discussion is prepared more thoroughly and the implementation of decisions is supervised more strictly.

Thus, for example, immediately after the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it was deemed expedient at a bureau session to hold an obkom plenum on improving the work style and methods of party, soviet and economic organs. The main lines of discussion of this topical problem and the possible ways of resolving it were defined in advance. In preparation for the plenum, UL'YANOVSKAYA PRAVDA, the oblast newspaper, was asked to start a special section in which the personnel of party committees, activists and anyone else could share their thoughts on the matter and express critical remarks and suggestions. We considered the materials published in the newspaper at a bureau session, and selected the most valuable features. Following the



plenum, which was held last May, and in accordance with its resolutions, all party committees held seminars with the elected aktiv on problems of perfecting the work style. It was precisely after this plenum that party gorkom and raykom managers began systematically to submit reports on the course of implementation of decisions and on upgrading the level of organizational work.

A businesslike discussion took place at the obkom plenums and aktiv meetings on upgrading the level of party leadership in the socioeconomic development of the oblast, accelerating scientific and technical progress and strengthening party and state discipline.

Manifestations of formalism are irreconcilably alien to the Leninist style. That is why the oblast party organization is mounting a persistent struggle against anything which has become obsolete and hinders our progress. Indicative in this respect is the organizational and ideological work which preceded the holding of the practical science conference on work with the letters and addresses by the working people, as a form of practicing social justice and as the greatest achievement of the new social system.

In addressing ourselves to said problem, we started by raising most seriously at party committee bureau sessions the question in the following manner: in order to demand of others, the party managers must above all themselves be models of true communist morality and practically prove their loyalty to party ideals, always and in everything be honest to the party, set an example of modesty and get rid of anything which could compromise them even most slightly, and refuse to patronize anyone for the sake of obliging relatives and friends, and firmly oppose economic acquisitions and a consumerist attitude toward life.

The obkom mounted a decisive struggle against nepotism and protectionism, which had occurred in some management bodies and schools. Stricter measures were adopted in the struggle against alcoholics, black marketeers and violators of the public order, alcoholics above all.

A strict party assessment was made of the erroneous actions of A. M. Sanzhapov, former first secretary of the Starokulatinskiy Party Raykom, who had unjustifiably promoted to leading positions close relatives and connived with many managers guilty of unseemly actions, which had resulted in gross violations of party and state discipline, severe economic and financial abuses and violations of communist morality norms. The obkom bureau and the party meeting at the Ulyanovsk Polytechnical Institute strictly condemned the unseemly behavior of individual VUZ teachers and officials. Three of them were expelled from the party and dismissed from the institute for their inclination to money-grubbing, political immaturity and immoral actions. Twenty senior party, soviet and economic managers were meted strict party punishments and relieved from their positions for drunken driving.

The oblast party committee, which ascribes great importance to molding public opinion, introduced in its work the practice of weekly discussions of information received from local areas. The study of such information indicates that sometimes a negative public opinion develops on one problem or



another as a result of false rumors and various misinterpretations, which we are not always able to counter. In other cases, a negative public opinion is the direct consequence of someone's improper actions or work blunder. The CPSU Obkom and the other party and soviet bodies try efficiently to react to such alarm signals in order either to eliminate or prevent reasons for just dissatisfaction and indignation shown by the people and the flow of complaints and petitions which they trigger. Steps were taken to eliminate the shortage of many commodities, to improve the work of urban communal services, etc. The procedure for processing working people's letters and complaints is being improved. One day a week (Monday) all party and soviet organs, establishments and organizations can be visited by citizens; the responsibility of their managers for the prompt consideration of citizens' problems has been increased.

The procedure for the enrollment of VUZ students needs substantial improvements as well. As it currently stands, it occasionally results in disproportions among the ratios of members of different population groups among the students. We quite frequently come across cases in which young men and women from worker and, particularly, peasant families are unable to qualify in the competitive examinations. Some of them do not even risk competing.

We are trying to control such processes. After studying the practice of assigning boys and girls to higher educational institutions by labor collectives, we exposed major violations of the principle of social justice. For example, in Starokulatkinskiy rayon, all those who were assigned to train in the country's VUZes by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses turned out to be the children of party and soviet officials. Obviously, such a situation cannot be tolerated. Steps are being taken for the trade unions to implement their functions more strictly, ensuring the equitable distribution of benefits offered to the working people among the members of the collective paid with enterprise funds, such as housing, bonuses, vouchers for sanatoriums, rest homes and Pioneer camps, etc.

As a result of persistent efforts, within a short time the oblast was able to lower the crime rate and the number of violations of public order, and significantly to reduce the flow of complaints triggered by improper activities of officials or other manifestations of social injustice. A study of the results of such work and of problems still awaiting their solution was the base for the practical science conference on work with letters we mentioned.

The party's Central Committee, its Politburo and Comrade K. U. Chernenko, personally, are greatly helping us in fulfilling the oblast's tasks. The steps which were taken in 1984 on the comprehensive development of the city of Ulyanovsk and its oblast in 1985-1995, the creation in the oblast center of the "Homeland of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" State Historical-Memorial Preserve on the union level, and the opening of a state university were clear proof of this concern. The implementation of measures to promote the socioeconomic development of our kray will be a powerful incentive for increasing the organizational and ideological work of the oblast party organization which,

along with the rest of the country, is preparing for the solemn celebration of the 115th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

Our party organization is confronted with the solution of complex and important problems. The high rating which Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko gave its activities inspired in the party members of Ulyanovsk new strength which they are channeling into the implementation of the daring party plans and the worthy welcoming of the 27th CPSU Congress.

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HUMAN FACTOR IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: LESSONS FROM THE 1930S

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[Article by V. Kozlov and O. Khlevnyuk]

[Text] "Stalino, 1 September (by a PRAVDA correspondent). In honor of the 21st anniversary of the International Youth Day, Comrade Stakhanov, Kadiyevo miner at the Tsentral'naya-Irmino mine, set an all-union labor productivity record with a miner's pick. In a 6-hour shift, Stakhanov dug 102 tons of coal or 10 percent of the mine's daily output, and earned 200 rubles." (PRAVDA, 2 September 1935).

The question of the efficient utilization of the production potential of socialism arose for the first time in our country in the mid-1930s. A search began for optimal mechanisms to govern the functioning of the socialist society with its internal specific principles of collectivism, mass initiative and creativity, identification of individual capabilities and equitable distribution according to labor. The Stakhanovite program, which was based on these principles, was at that time a qualitatively new stage in the socialist competition, the historical testing grounds on which effective methods for the utilization of the human factor in resolving socioeconomic problems were being developed.

The question of the maximally full realization of the possibilities of socialism and of perfecting production relations is still facing Soviet society. Naturally, it is being resolved under different conditions and on a much higher level. However, the major and intensive efforts to perfect developed socialism, currently made by the party and the people, are based on the principles which prevailed 50 years ago, when the first draft of the mechanism for the functioning of the socialist economy was being written. This work, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is impossible without the extensive development of the initiative and creativity of the masses and without their most energetic involvement in resolving the crucial problems of social life.

## Development Enthusiasm

The Stakhanovites amazed the entire world with their unparalleled labor records. However, mass record-setting was not the essence of the Stakhanovite Movement. We know that many of these labor organization methods on which Stakhanov and his followers based their records had been discovered long before the initiation of the movement. They were mentioned as early as 1927, at the 15th VKP(b) Congress by G. K. Ordzhonikidze, who referred to the familiar book by O. A. Yermanskiy "Teoriya i Praktika Ratsionalizatsii" [The Theory and Practice of Rationalization], which was in its fifth printing by 1933. "...In the coal mines," Ordzhonikidze pointed out, "in our country an excellent miner is frequently behind the props, whereas such props could be provided by common laborers. If such were to be the case, the miner would give us more coal." It was precisely this simple technological method which Stakhanov applied.

Why was it necessary for more than 7 years to pass before implementing and making available to the masses seemingly obvious ideas of a rational organization of the production process? Above all because the country's economy had to grow up to reach this level, and people who could apply progressive technical means in their work to appear. A system of socialist production relations had to appear which would ensure a combination of the interests of society with those of the individual and encourage the worker to work productively and creatively. All of these prerequisites essentially developed by the end of the transitional period. However, in order for the possibility of engaging in highly productive work to become reality, a "social order" for a Stakhanovite Movement was needed, a social requirement which was to predetermine its scope, forms and time of birth.

By the mid-1930s, thanks to the selfless efforts of the Soviet people, the country's economy had changed radically. New industrial sectors had been created and the most important industrial giants had been started up--the Novo-Kramatorsk Machine-Building Plant, the Ural Heavy Machine-Building Plant, the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk metallurgical combines, the Stalingrad, Kharkov and Chelyabinsk tractor plants, the Nizhegorod Automotive Vehicles Plant and many others. Old enterprises have been reconstructed. Whereas initially machines and equipment had to be imported from abroad, now the Soviet Union was producing its own necessary equipment. "Through the heroic struggle of the working class," the VKP(b) emphasized at its 17th Congress, "during the 1st Five-Year Plan the foundations for a socialist economy had already been laid..."

The successes in developing a new technical base for industry were largely achieved as a result of the decisive onslaught, the stressing of all forces and conscious sacrifices on the part of the people and a certain subordination of material human needs to the tasks of accelerated economic development. However, the same old methods could no longer make the efficient utilization of the new production potential possible.

The shift in emphasis in defining the tasks of the further development of Soviet society during the 2nd Five-Year Plan brought new slogans to life. Construction enthusiasm was increased with the enthusiasm of development; the



slogan of "Technology Resolves Everything!" was added to the slogan "Cadres Who Have Mastered the Equipment Decide Everything!" In this case, it was not merely a question of the mastery of new equipment. The socialist society had to make use of all of its opportunities: economic, political, cultural and psychological. Between the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s impressive successes had been achieved in the socioeconomic development of the country. A significant production potential had been created and the cultural and technical standards of the workers had become substantially higher. Prerequisites had appeared not only for the further growth of labor productivity but, something quite important, for developing essentially new sources for the labor activeness of the individual.

The awareness shown by the participants in building socialism of the political significance of their labor contribution to the content of labor itself could henceforth be used as a labor incentive. Installing new production facilities contributed to upgrading satisfaction with the work and its nature, for in addition to physical, the labor of the worker increasingly demanded intellectual efforts.

The appearance of this new and not as yet fully utilized opportunity for bringing to light the creative forces of man allowed not simply to raise the question of developing in the masses various technical skills and knowledge, but to make deep changes in the minds of the people and in their world outlook and help them to master new views on life.

The molding of a socialist-type worker was impossible without the use of the most important economic laws of socialism, the law of distribution according to labor, above all, which ensured the harmony between individual and social interests. The 1st Five-Year Plan neither brought nor could bring about the establishment of a normally functioning mechanism of distribution according to labor. Scarcity of funds and the rationing of food and industrial commodities prevented improvements in distribution relations and wages, based on the 1927/28 wage rate reform, had largely retained the equalization principle. Possibilities of granting material incentives for labor activities were very limited.

The successes which were achieved by the turn of the 1930s enabled us, at the beginning of the 2nd Five-Year Plan, to organize the socialist distribution mechanism. Possibilities of satisfying the material needs of the people increased somewhat, and the wage rate reform which was initiated in 1931 seriously struck at the wage equalization system. By decision of the November 1934 VKP(b) Central Committee Plenum, the abolishment of the rationing system was undertaken. This too contributed to strengthening material incentives.

During the 2nd Five-Year Plan material incentive was increasingly applied in socialist competition: the movement for subsidy-free work by enterprises and of excellent workers appeared in industry (competition for the production of excellent quality goods). Although they did not become extensively widespread, both initiatives were based on the same principles as the Stakhanovite Movement: cost accounting and properly organized piece-rate

work. Progressive piece-rate work, the journal BOL'SHEVIK wrote in 1935, "is the threshold of the Stakhanovite Movement."

Therefore, by the mid-1930s new imminent problems of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society appeared, which needed urgent solutions. The objective prerequisites to solve them appeared as well. That "special link" which, as Lenin said, would enable us "to hold together the entire chain and firmly to prepare the transition to the next link" became apparent ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 205). The question of labor norming and reviewing the old technically unsubstantiated norms became one such link in the chain of economic problems of the mid-1930s.

At that time, norming based on "considerations," jokingly referred to by the workers as norming "from the ceiling," was widespread. Equalization had become rooted here and there: identical norms were set for the entire enterprise, regardless of the degree of equipment availability. As a rule, the norming workers lacked proper experience, for which reason norms were set, as the workers said, quite simply: "Multiply Dmitrovka times Solyanka, and the result is the Kuznetskiy Bridge."

On the one hand, imperfect norms resulted in significant underutilization of production capacities and, on the other, restricted material labor incentives. The use of progressive wage systems under conditions of reduced norms resulted in the fact that the growth of labor productivity fell behind wage increases. That is why norming practice stipulated that norms were to be immediately raised once they had been overimplemented, in order to maintain an average wage level and to prevent higher production costs. All of this paralyzed the initiative of the working people. The workers feared that a significant norm overfulfillment would lower wages.

The setting of new norms presumed the maximal identification of all production reserves and possibilities of workers in the socialist industry. The conversion to the new norms, therefore, required the active participation of the broadest possible strata of the working class and the engineering and technical specialists in the reform, the harnessing of their efforts and surmounting the psychological barriers of previously established labor stereotypes.

The peculiarity of the situation was that new norms could be introduced only as a result of the comprehensive utilization of the mechanism of socialist labor incentive. However, the normal functioning of this mechanism without technically substantiated norms was impossible. This was a case of "short-circuiting" of cause-and-effect relations, which created a kind of vicious circle of interconnected problems. The heroic initiative of the progressive groups in the working class was necessary to break it. It was precisely the Stakhanovites who performed this task.

#### Revolution in Industry

As was noted at the November 1935 First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovite Men and Women Workers, "the movement destroyed the old views on technology, the old technical norms, the old planned capacities and the old production

plans, demanding the creation of new higher technical norms, planned capacities and production plans. It is called upon to make a revolution in our industry. That is precisely why the Stakhanovite Movement is essentially a profoundly revolutionary one."

A wave of Stakhanovite records rolled over the entire country as of September 1935. At the beginning of September, Stakhanov's achievements were outstripped by his fellow miners M. Dyukanov and D. Kontsedalov. N. Izotov mined 240 tons of coal in a single shift on 11 September; a day later, F. Artyukhov set a new record--310.7 tons of coal. Toward the middle of the month A. Busygin, forge smith at the Gorkiy Motor Vehicles Plant reached a high labor productivity: he was able to complete one crankshaft every 30 seconds, compared to 36 seconds in the United States.

During those months, I. Gudov, a worker at the Moscow Machine Tool-Building Plant, reached the highest labor productivity in the world on a milling machine, overfulfilling his norm by a factor of 14. In October, Mariya and Yevdokiya Vinogradov, weavers at the Vichuga Textile Factory (Ivanovo Oblast), were the first workers in the world service 100 looms (by November they were already servicing 216 looms each). N. Smetanin, worker at the Skorokhod Factory in Leningrad, initiated the Stakhanovite Movement in the shoe industry. He was able to stretch 1,470 pairs of shoes per shift (double the norm), thus considerably outstripping the output at Bata, the famous Czech shoe factory. P. Krivonos, locomotive engineer on the Donetsk Railroad, doubled the technical speed of trains. The movement spread to heavy industry, transportation, and the light, food and timber industries and agriculture.

From its very beginning, the Stakhanovite Movement rested on the authoritative support of the party organizations. The record set at the Tsentral'naya-Irmino Mine was achieved precisely thanks to the initiative of the party organization and, personally, its head, K. Petrov. Starting with September 1935, concern for the development of the Stakhanovite Movement became the most important problem in the activities of all party organizations throughout the country without exception. "To develop the Stakhanovite Movement, to organize and help the Stakhanovites do their progressive and revolutionary work, educating them and protecting them from those who hinder their work is our most important task today. We must know all Stakhanovites, particularly the progressive and the best among them as closely as we know all of our party organizers at the plant," I. Vareykis, the noted communist party and Soviet state leader, said.

The party press, PRAVDA and BOL'SHEVIK, above all, did a great deal to disseminate the Stakhanovite experience.

Meetings with party and Soviet leaders at numerous sectorial and regional conferences and rallies contributed to the growth of their reputation. The First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovite Workers, attended by party and state leaders, was a result of this campaign. The evaluation of the Stakhanovites as a new type of people from whom everyone should learn, which was delivered from the rostrum of the conference, significantly influenced the further development of the Stakhanovite Movement.



The December 1935 VKP(b) Plenum, at which the work of industry and transportation was discussed in connection with the development of the movement of innovators, was a noteworthy event in the history of the Stakhanovite Movement. The plenum called for upgrading the cultural and technical standards of the working class, including those of the Stakhanovites themselves, and deemed restructuring the labor norming system necessary.

The essence of the Stakhanovite Movement was neither understood by all workers nor immediately. It seemed to some that this applied exclusively to record-setting individuals; others found it difficult to convert from the study of specific work actions of the initial Stakhanovites to the identification of the general principles of the new labor method. It was not only necessary to explain to the broadest possible masses of workers and kolkhoz members the nature of the new movement but also to involve them in the active process of historical creativity with the help of the Stakhanovite Movement. Under these circumstances, the "force of the example," which, according to Lenin, "acquires the opportunity of exerting a mass influence for the first time (op. cit., vol 36, p 191) assumed particular significance.

Approaches to Stakhanovite work varied: workers of all ages and educational standards, party and nonparty people, people from the countryside and old urban residents, men and women and working people in all fields, from the metallurgical worker to the pastryman, participated in the movement. All of them, however, continued in the traditions of the heroic and dedicated toil of the shock workers of the first five-year plan and their psychological readiness to adopt the new norms was the result of the overall sociopsychological atmosphere of the period. It was precisely in the Stakhanovite movement of the new society, which raised high the prestige of labor and, in general, of socially significant and class-oriented actions of the individual, that society was able to determine its possibility of influencing the consciousness and behavior of the people. The aspiration of the individual for self-assertion, based on collectivistic values and norms, sanctioned and supported by the prestige of the Soviet system, was the sociopsychological base of the Stakhanovite Movement.

The Stakhanovite Movement enabled a rather broad stratum of frontranking workers to meet this new requirement. A. Busygin recalls the following: "I am frequently asked why did I have to set a record? For a number of reasons. Our forging shop had broken down and this had resulted in the breakdown of the entire plant. I wanted to bring the shop out of this breakdown and see to it that our plant would be no longer lagging but march in the rank of the leading enterprises.... Meanwhile, the record set by Aleksey Stakhanov reached us. It suddenly dawned on me that one should stop talking and everyone should work like bolsheviks, at which point the entire plant would get ahead."

The Stakhanovites' production successes were not based on the intensification of the workers' physical efforts but on perfecting the labor process, above all the efficient division of labor between skilled and auxiliary workers. In addition to a purely technological effect, the Stakhanovite division of labor was of major social significance. According to the participants in the movement, the division of labor provided tremendous incentives for the growth



of the individuality of the worker, molding his character and protecting his skilled work "from being wasted on petty matters."

The overall organizational restructuring and order in production were of equal significance in determining the abilities of individual workers. All of this affected most positively the moral and psychological climate in labor collectives, encouraging the people to work more productively. "Order at the work place," A. Gastev, who was studying Stakhanovite work methods, emphasized, "means, above all, high standards which have always a positive moral influence on the worker. Order makes the movements of the worker more precise, refined and planned."

Organization, a creative attitude toward the work, professionalism and interest in production rationalization were (regardless of profession or industrial sector) the base of the Stakhanovite work method. The high labor standard enabled the Stakhanovites to resolve incomparably more complex problems. Whereas an insignificant overfulfillment of production plans and poor technical production rationalization were characteristic of the shock workers in the 1st Five-Year Plan, in the majority of cases the Stakhanovites achieved outstanding results precisely through quality improvements in the organization of labor and technology, perfecting the equipment and rejecting work stereotypes which had accumulated over the years.

Changes in the organization of labor, created by Stakhanovite Movement, contributed to the development of the individual, to upgrading his interest in the work and, something equally important, to increased satisfaction with labor. Stakhanovites, speaking about themselves, said that "now the work has become more interesting, the people seem to be somehow reborn..."; "Never before has my work brought me such joy; never have I invested in my work such creative initiative, zeal and persistent aspiration to achieve new successes as I have in recent years"; "...Our work is creative. One cannot work on the basis of methods set once and for all. One must think, one must improve work methods and consider how to organize the work in order to eliminate unnecessary movements."

However, all of this did not eliminate in the least the task of perfecting the material incentive system. The aspiration of the people to achieve material well-being was entirely natural and understandable, the more so since this was taking place in a country which had been able to eliminate bread rationing only in January 1935, where the memory of the hunger of 1922 and food difficulties at the turn of the 1920s was still fresh, making it an important factor in involving the masses in building socialism. This aspiration and personal interest, which coincided with the interests of the public--the struggle for upgrading labor productivity--was used by the communist party and Soviet state to make the Stakhanovite Movement truly widespread. To this purpose the artificial restrictions imposed on the growth of wages were eliminated, norms were set on a long-term basis, the wage fund was increased and progressive wage methods were applied more consistently and extensively. "Previously, several years ago," G. K. Ordzhonikidze emphasized at the December 1935 VKP(b) Central Committee Plenum, "our wages suffered from the fault that workers could not earn beyond a specified level. It was somewhat wrong to earn 30 to 40 percent above the wage norm. This is no longer the

case. In a progressive piece-rate system, the individual will earn as much as he can produce."

The norms which were raised as a result of the Stakhanovite Movement ensured wages based on labor contribution. Under those circumstances, wage increases, which reflected the growth of labor productivity, objectively combined the interests of society with those of the worker. That is precisely why the incredibly high earnings of the initiators of the movement had an additionally socially significant meaning. They were accepted by society as a reflection of the increased contribution made by the progressive stratum of the working class to the building of socialism: it was precisely earnings which determined the type of work done.

Therefore, as a person develops and follows the right path, personal interest far exceeds the framework of the desire for material well-being. It is manifested in a combination of personal targets and the objectives of social progress. It is indicative that the Stakhanovites themselves considered their earnings a prerequisite for further cultural and professional growth and a means of greater contribution to production affairs. "...Thanks to progressive wages," said, for example, Stakhanovite G. Likhoradov, "I began to earn significantly more. I ate better and was less concerned with my material status. Instead, during my leisure time I could think of the tyres" (the production of which was Likhoradov's job--the author).

The scope of the moral incentive of the Stakhanovite Movement was unparalleled. During the second half of the 1930s, the Stakhanovites became essentially national heroes. Their names were put alongside those of the famous fliers who had conquered the Arctic. The social recognition of the labor merits of this progressive stratum of the working class and their high satisfaction with their work not only ensured a coincidence between the expectations of the individual and the plans of society but also developed a particular atmosphere of heroism and of the permanent social significance of seemingly most ordinary and prosaic work.

At the same time, the dissemination of the Stakhanovite Movement encountered a number of major difficulties. The uneven development of the different production subunits and the low level of mechanization of auxiliary processes not only hindered the application of the Stakhanovite initiative but their own work as well. The council under the People's Commissar of USSR Heavy Industry, which met in June 1936, emphasized that the main obstacle to the mass development of the Stakhanovite movement was the low level of managerial and organizational support of the new method. The enthusiasm of many economic managers for record-setting by individual workers or, at best, shifts, frequently upset the production process and, in the final account, did not yield the necessary results. Here and there the Stakhanovite Movement was interpreted as legalized rushing.

The party mounted a decisive struggle to correct the developing situation. In December 1937 the VKP(b) Central Committee approved the decree "Appeal of Stakhanovites in Factories and Plants in Moscow and Moscow Oblast." It emphasized that "any weekly or monthly celebration of the Stakhanovite

Movement should extend to all Stakhanovites rather than the record setters alone."

Despite the problems and difficulties which arose, the Stakhanovite Movement assumed a broad scope during the 2nd Five-Year Plan. On 1 January 1938, 25 percent of all industrial workers were in its ranks. It was largely thanks to the Stakhanovite Movement, the new industrial norms and the perfecting of socialist labor incentive that during the 2nd Five-Year Plan the Soviet economy developed much more intensively than during the preceding period. During the 2nd Five-Year Plan labor productivity in industry increased 82 percent rather than 63 percent as planned; construction increased 83 percent compared to 75 percent as stipulated in the plan. According to some economists of the time, millions of additional workers would have had to be recruited in industry had 1936 labor productivity remained on the 1932 level.

#### 'These Are New, Special People'

The Stakhanovite Movement helped workers to become more fully aware of the social value of their work and the social significance of their individual efforts. It enhanced their satisfaction not only with their high earnings but the content of labor itself. It was precisely the Stakhanovite Movement which led to the development of a new system of labor incentives, exclusively characteristic of socialism, in which essentially new labor incentives were added to the material incentives of the worker. This made the Stakhanovite Movement an important stage not only in the development of the socialist economy but in shaping the socialist type of individual as well.

The Stakhanovites themselves believed that by building and mastering plans they "mastered themselves as well." Statements about the Stakhanovites as a new type of individuals, were heard from lofty rostrums: "Three years ago there were almost no such people in our country," speakers said at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovite Workers. "These are new, special people." An objective criterion had already developed in the public mind in the 1930s, according to which the Stakhanovites were considered a new type of people. The new person was considered at that time not merely the bearer of a set of positive qualities but, above all, an individual who had developed a special relationship with the world. This relationship was clearly manifested through the active, conscious and purposeful desire to change the world in accordance with the socialist ideal. The novelty of this new person was defined at that time precisely according to the new type of personality rather than the absolute absence of vestiges of the "accursed past" in his mind and behavior. The appearance of masses of people who possessed this necessary quality was considered by their contemporaries a very promising beginning. "A Stakhanovite," speakers said at the 10th Komsomol Congress in 1936, "is a working person who has taken the proper path, the bolshevik path of development."

"During long years of life," recalls M. Vinogradova in her book "Ryadom s Legendoy" [Alongside a Legend], "and having reviewed my life and that of my comrades innumerable times, I have reached the conclusion that we, Stakhanovites, were motivated by a feeling of duty." The feeling of duty, the feeling of being the master of the country, was the most important



sociopsychological feature of the Stakhanovite as a new type of person. "We, comrades," said M. Lysyakova at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovite Workers, "firmly stick to our work and our equipment. We shudder at the very thought of what we had in 1927 and 1928. The materials were scattered around, a cop here, a spool there, everything rolling around. If you would come to our factory now you would see neatness and cleanliness...proof that our factory educated us. If a cop is rolling on the floor, it must be picked up for this is a 15-kopeck part."

The 1930s journalists considered as the distinguishing features of the Stakhanovites awareness of their responsibility to the masses, their aspiration toward all-round self-perfection, high activeness and, perhaps most importantly, in terms of the development of the personality, dissatisfaction with their achievements. This last quality opened the way to the further striving of the Stakhanovite toward the socialist ideal.

Participation in the Stakhanovite Movement brought into action the "mechanisms" of enhanced objectives and meaning of individual activities. The study of Stakhanovite biographies proved that it was precisely thanks to this turn in the attitude toward labor, converted from a means of earning to a social activity bringing moral satisfaction, that changed the entire way of life of the people.

As a result of these and other turning points in the life of the country or the individual--and that was precisely what the Stakhanovite Movement was, like the shock work movement during the 1st Five-Year Plan--what the people themselves were mentioning occurred: "My eyes were opened." Actually, this was a peculiar leap, a manifestation of accumulated values and a "self-identification" of the individual with the values and norms of a new culture. It was no accident that their contemporaries were amazed by the speed with which the people assumed the new qualities and features in the course of the Stakhanovite Movement, which sometimes puzzled even the Stakhanovites themselves: "I myself was amazed at the sudden change which took place within me."

What made the significance of the new incentives for the spiritual development of the individual, related to labor, even greater was that successes in the field of education were still not all that outstanding: a considerable number of people, particularly toward the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, were either semiliterate or illiterate at the start of their labor careers. "Coming across young Stakhanovites, sometimes it is simply distressing," said A. Kosarev at a young Stakhanovite conference in 1938. "As a rule, the people think on the scale of the entire state. They work brilliantly. They dedicate themselves to the work and are ready to go through fire and water for the sake of the cause of the party and socialism. Yet, looking at their cultural standard, one should frankly say, comrades, that it is exceptionally low."

The individual's awareness of the conflict between his new status in society and his low cultural standard broke the vicious circle of ordinary consciousness and eliminated inner "restrictions" of spiritual growth. In such cases, culture became not only accessible but also extremely necessary.



It turned from an "embellishment of life" into a tool for the reorganization of the world. Without such a personal need, interaction with culture degenerated into spiritual consumerism and a mindless contact with knowledge (for the sake of "general development," etc.), exerting no profound influence whatsoever on molding the individual.

The conscious and purposeful attitude toward knowledge, which was the mark of the new person of the 1930s, was the opposite of the philistine, purely external interpretation of education, unsupported by an inner motivation. "My biggest dream is to gain an education," said A. Busygin, addressing the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovite Workers. "...I know that as I learn I will work even better." To most Stakhanovites knowledge was, above all, a mandatory prerequisite for conscious participation in the building of socialism, a necessary prerequisite for efficient work and political activity and a means of social self-assertion.

As a mass type of personality, the Stakhanovite was not only the result but the most important prerequisite for socialist construction. His appearance on the historical stage was as legitimate as the production records he set. The possibility of accomplishing within a decade something which would take a century gave a particular meaning to any, even the most modest and ordinary action of a person consciously participating in the building of socialism. As they build and perfected the new society, the progressive popular strata gained the possibility of directly combining the meaning of the individual human life with the global objectives of social development. Stakhanov's contemporaries justifiably believed that his movement had triggered a revolution both in production and in the human mind.

In the mid-1930s the Stakhanovite Movement was a characteristic result of our entire progress toward socialism. It contributed to resolving the problems of the transitional period and the entry of the USSR into the strictly socialist phase of the communist system and the transformation of the economy of the transitional period into a socialist economy. The Stakhanovite Movement made it possible to regulate the operational mechanism of the socialist society on the basis of its internal specific principles and struck at the equalizing interpretation of socialism; it led to molding a worker of a new, socialist type. With its deep influence on all realms of social life, it proved to the world the extensive socioeconomic possibilities of the new system. The Stakhanovite Movement convincingly proved that socialism offers favorable conditions for the development of the initiative of the masses and the realization of man's creative efforts.

Today, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, the qualitative changes prepared by our entire development, and the tremendous creative work of the party and the people, developed on the basis of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, would be inconceivable without the conscious, interested and initiative-minded work of the Soviet people, of one and all, which requires "that the labor and social activeness of the masses not simply grow, as has been the case so far, but multiply, in the literal meaning of the term." The continuators of the labor glory of the first Stakhanovites are called upon to make their contribution to this growth of labor activeness.

The baton of the Stakhanovite Movement was passed on to the present generation and is effectively serving the solution of the main problem of the Soviet people--perfecting developed socialism.

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## MILITARY LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof L. Spirin, on the occasion of the centennial of M. V. Frunze's birth]

[Text] "A great revolution has always given birth to great people and great military leaders, and it would be no exaggeration to say that our Great October Revolution raised a brilliant star, among many others--Comrade Frunze--loyal to the cause of the revolution and full of love for the proletariat."

That statement was made by Sergo Ordzhonikidze at the funeral meeting held on 1 November 1925, on the day following the death of Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze, the firm revolutionary-Leninist, outstanding organizer of mass proletarian actions, an amazing person with a heroic destiny and a military leader in the greatest of all revolutions.

Mikhail Vasil'yevich's life was all too brief, 40 years, but how outstanding! He joined the RSDWP at the age of 19. At 20 he was a professional revolutionary (engaged in clandestine work). At 21 he was the youngest delegate to the 4th (Unification) RSDWP Congress in Stockholm, where he met with V. I. Lenin. At 33 he was chairman of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Guberniya Executive Committee and chairman of the Guberniya Party Organization. At 34 he commanded an army; he subsequently commanded various fronts and, finally, became people's commissar for military and naval affairs and chairman of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council.

A fiery agitator, splendid publicist, diplomat, head of the special mission to the Turkish Republic, military theoretician and military leader who, like Suvorov, was never defeated, Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze happily combined within himself the talent of party and state leader with that of a military commander. He was utterly honest, totally loyal to the party and people, and a true proletarian internationalist.

## I

Three different nations claim Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze as their countryman and son: the Moldavians, the Kirghiz and the Russians. His father, a

feldsher, was Moldavian (in Moldavian frunze means "blade of grass"); his mother was Russian, and he was born in the city of Pishpek, Semirech'ye Oblast, on 2 February 1885 (today Frunze, capital of the Kirghiz SSR). The revolutionist received his baptism of fire in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

From an early age life itself (the material difficulties of the family, and the need and rightlessness of the people) led Misha Frunze, the high school student, to the path of the revolution, and he was lucky to take the most accurate line of struggle. He was spared a lengthy search, doubts or wanderings. His reading of Marx's and Engels's "Communist Party Manifesto," V. I. Lenin's work "What Is To Be Done?," and individual issues of Lenin's newspaper ISKRA defined once and for all the ideological trend and organizational affiliation of this young revolutionary with the Bolshevik Party. He assumed his outstanding position in the revolutionary struggle thanks to his exceptional talents (Frunze graduated from the high school with a gold medal and enrolled in the economics department of the Polytechnical Institute in Petersburg), his tremendous will power and purposefulness. While still in high school, he wrote to his brother Konstantin: "...The purpose of my life is to make a profound study of the laws which govern the course of history, and to plunge headlong into reality, to blend with the most progressive class in contemporary society--the working class--and to live with its thoughts, hopes and struggle and radically to change everything...."

A revolution was ripening in Russia and the student Frunze indeed plunged headlong into the political struggle. He received his baptism of fire (he was wounded in a clash with police) in the capital, where he had joined a bolshevik organization toward the end of 1904. It was here that destiny took its final turn. After the 9 January 1905 Bloody Sunday, he wrote to his mother: "The die is cast, the Rubicon has been crossed and the road has been defined. I shall dedicate myself to the revolution entirely. Do not be surprised by lack of news. The path I have chosen is not smooth...."

It was by the will of the party that the 20-year-old Frunze found himself in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk worker district. No better training for revolutionary struggle was possible. By no means did all Russian revolutionaries have the opportunity to spend several years in the thick of the worker masses, during the most intensive years of political struggle. It was here, in the city of Shuya, that Frunze did everything: he worked as an agitator, party organizer and manager, and as a creator of a combat unit. Arseniy--Frunze's party conspiratorial name--was a good speaker and the workers quickly took a liking to him.

As a consistent Leninist, Frunze realized that the strength of the party rested in its close ties with the working people, the working class above all. However, he also realized that many workers were still acting spontaneously. The duty of the bolshevik, therefore, was to introduce a socialist awareness, in the working class first and, subsequently, among the increasingly broad population strata. Frunze did this with tremendous energy. Some days he addressed several meetings and rallies in different places, wrote leaflets and appeals, awakened proletarian thinking, supported initiative and sought and tried new ways and means of struggle. The fact that a general strike broke out in Ivanovo-Voznesensk in May 1905 and that the first citywide soviet of



worker deputies in Russia was created here, as a new form of people's regime, and which lasted as long as the Paris Commune, was a tremendous accomplishment of the bolsheviks, including Frunze.

"The Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike," Lenin pointed out, "proved the unexpectedly high political maturity of the workers. The ferment in this entire central industrial area steadily increased and widened after the strike" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 11, p 314).

Frunze's participation in the work of the 4th (Unification) RSDWP Congress and his meeting with Lenin at the congress were of tremendous importance to the young revolutionary. Vladimir Il'ich had a long talk with Frunze. He asked about the struggle waged by the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers and, particularly, about the training of propagandists and the creation of combat units.

Toward the end of 1905 the development of events gave priority to preparations for an armed uprising. Frunze plunged headlong into the study of military affairs. This was the element of the young revolutionary. Frunze read a number of books on military leaders and the history of the war. He became well-familiar with weaponry and its use. He organized a combat unit in Shuya. It soon became necessary to break it up into 10-man units, the leaders of which were under Frunze's direct command. The unit played a major role in protecting worker meetings, assemblies and marches. The police feared an engagement with it, preferring to ignore worker rallies which occurred in the forest or beyond the river.

However, this work was dangerous, bordering on risk. The following occurred once: toward the end of October 1905, Frunze and bolshevik activist A. S. Bubnov were returning at night from a party meeting. Unexpectedly, a Cossack mounted patrol showed up and stopped them. Frunze was searched and weapons and compromising documents were found in his possession. He was severely beaten, after which a noose was thrown around his neck and the rope tied to a horse, which was set galloping.

"I was running, holding the loop with both hands so as not to strangle," Frunze recalled later. "Naturally, I was unable to keep pace with the horse. The Cossacks were shouting and cursing at me and I kept stumbling. Eventually we came to a fence and the Cossacks told me to climb over it. I thought that they were telling me to sit on the horse. The moment I stood on the fence, a Cossack whipped the horse. My feet were caught in the fence and I could not release them until the fence collapsed. I lost consciousness and fell...." His leg was damaged: after that, his knee joint would dislocate with any sudden movement, causing him unbearable pain.

They continued to torture him in jail, pouring cold water on him to revive him and beat him again. He had scars on his head and body for the rest of his life.

Nothing, no threats or reprisals, could stop the young bolshevik. He began to train the unit members for a decisive battle with autocracy even more energetically. When the armed uprising, which became the peak of the first people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism, broke out in Moscow in

December 1905, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Shuya unit members, headed by Frunze, were among the first to come to the aid of the rebels. They fought at Krasnaya Presnya, side by side with the Moscow workers.

After the defeat of the December uprising, Frunze wrote in a leaflet: "We must not lose heart. The working class must learn not only from its victories but its defeats as well. If a battle has been lost, we must retreat with honor and preserve our unity. As long as we remain united we have not lost."

This was Lenin's formulation of the matter and the young revolutionary did not stop training armed worker detachments. In accordance with Lenin's tactics, he skillfully combined and applied legal with clandestine forms of struggle, using the trade unions, mutual aid societies and a variety of cultural organizations. He found time, mainly at night, to further his own education. Before his detention he had passed his examinations for the first four courses of the Polytechnical Institute.

Frunze was detained in Shuya by the end of March 1907 and sent to jail. It was here that the people's love for him was clearly manifested. The workers left their jobs and laid siege to the police administration, demanding the immediate release of their Arseniy. Blood was shed. Frunze, however, advised the workers to disperse and they obeyed.

On 27 January 1909, the tsarist general Milkov, who was the judge at the Vladimir Center, passed the following sentence: "...The peasant Pavel Gusev and the petit bourgeois Mikhail Frunze...shall be deprived of all rights and sentenced to death by hanging...." Later, after the protest mounted by the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Shuya and other cities, who went on strike demanding that Arseniy be released, and the objection of the progressive intelligentsia, the authorities were forced to review the case.

The case was retried on 22 September 1910 by a military tribunal, based on the old indictment. Once again Frunze was sentenced to death, officially for an attempt on the life of the Cossack noncommissioned officer Perlov, but in fact for being a member of a bolshevik organization and engaging in active revolutionary struggle against the autocratic system.

He spent 3 years in jail, month after terrifying month of waiting on death row, with sleepless nights and the inmates listening for approaching steps which would signal that one of them would be taken out, and dozing off during the day.

It seemed impossible to withstand such trials. Indeed, some people became insane while others fell severely ill. Yet he, the 25-year-old Mikhail Frunze, withstood everything, bowed to no one, did not lose his courage. Here is what his lawyer wrote subsequently: "Frunze's fearlessness showed above all in his calmness.... Here is a small incident: for 2 full months after his second death sentence, Frunze remained on death row, expecting every morning a knock on the door.... During those 2 months Frunze's hair did not turn grey. He did not become insane but...studied Italian. His means were limited. He was allowed to keep two Bibles in his cell, in Russian and Italian. The prisoner concentrated on the complex process of comparative

study, deriving from the 'sacred books,' based on his knowledge of Latin and French (the latter studied in jail as well--the author) the rules of grammar and syntax in the Italian language and a rich vocabulary...."

The death penalty was reduced to 10 years' hard labor, after long legal maneuvers, objections filed by the lawyers and public opinion pressure. With the 1914 amnesty, hard labor was reduced to resettlement in Irkutsk Guberniya for life. While in exile, Frunze persistently studied military affairs and the military operations in World War I. He even set up a circle of exiles to which he jokingly referred as the "military academy."

In the spring of 1916 the Chita bolsheviks sent Frunze to Moscow (by then, having escaped from his exile, he was in Chita with false papers). From there, under the name of M. A. Mikhaylov, he was assigned by the party to the Western Front to organize revolutionary work. It was here, as member of the committee of the All-Russian Zemstvo Alliance on the Western Front, and as head of the bolshevik underground in Minsk and working with detachments of the Third and 10th armies, that he welcomed the February revolution and, together with other bolsheviks, including A. F. Myasnikov, began to prepare the soldiers and working people of Belorussia for the socialist revolution, using to this effect the soviet of worker and soldier deputies and the soviet of peasant deputies, which had been created with his active participation, and whose chairman he was, the people's militia he headed, the front-line rallies, and the newspapers ZVEZDA and KREST'YANSKAYA GAZETA, which he edited. This was one proof that at that time Frunze had already become a major organizer and politician. He was helped in this by another meeting with Lenin, which took place in May 1917 in Petrograd, at the First All-Union Congress of Peasant Deputies. The congress was addressed by Lenin and Frunze, who exposed the policies of the bourgeois provisional government on the war, the peasants, the workers and the oppressed ethnic groups.

The party's Central Committee appointed Frunze to the Ivanovo-Voznesensk area to head the preparations for the socialist revolution. After disarming the Kornilov echelons in Orsha, in which he participated most directly, Arseniy, now Mikhailov, reached Shuya. The workers enthusiastically welcomed their leader. A big meeting was held, addressed by Frunze. He immediately assumed the head of the bolshevik organization and the soviet of worker and soldier deputies. Frunze was an amazing person, recalls Dmitriy Furmanov. "I felt a most profound sympathy for him.... He appeared incredibly intelligent and one could perceive this intelligence even as he smiled. Everything he said was simple, accurate and clear. His speeches were brief, to the point, meaningful; his thoughts were understandable, profound and considered; his decisions were daring and strong; his proofs were convincing and firm. It was easy to be with him." In September Frunze was elected chairman of the Shuyskiy Uyezd Soviet of Deputies. He set up a revolutionary committee and trained a detachment to help Moscow. In November he directly participated in the battles for the seizure of Moscow's Hotel Metropole, which was occupied by the White Guards. In December he was appointed the government's commissar of textile industry for Ivanovo-Voznesensk Guberniya.

The 6th RSDWP(b) Congress, which was held between the end of July and the beginning of August 1917, adopted the course of armed uprising. By the fault of the bourgeoisie, the peaceful period in the development of the revolution ended. The bolsheviks in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk area were preparing for the final battle. It so happened, however, that in Shuya, as in the majority of other cities in Russia, the proletariat did not have to resort to weapons to seize the power. It enjoyed superior strength and the enemy did not dare to oppose it with the force of arms. This was greatly to the credit of the local bolsheviks.

In a number of cities, however, including Moscow, the working class and its party had to resort to weapons. Fierce battles broke out in Moscow. As in 1905, the proletariat of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk area went to the aid of the Moscow workers. A detachment of Red Guards, raised by Frunze, bravely fought in the street battles. Frunze, who participated in suppressing the counterrevolution in Moscow, gained new experience in the armed struggle, experience which increased with every passing day. This led to his election in March 1918 to chairman of the Guberniya Executive Committee and, for this reason, his move from Shuya to Ivanovo-Voznesensk. He was also made head of the okrug party committee.

As a delegate to the 5th Congress of Soviets, on 6-7 July 1918 he took part in suppressing the left-wing SR mutiny in Moscow. He spent the entire second half of 1918 raising Red Army units in the struggle against the internal counterrevolution, which had raised its head, and the interventionists. "The only solution," Frunze wrote at that time in the local newspaper, "is the immediate and energetic effort to organize our armed forces. As long as Soviet Russia has not created them, it will remain an easy and tempting prey for all predators." Frunze followed Lenin and his call for creating a strong Red Army. The Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers were among its best regiments which fought on the Main (the Eastern) Front in the summer of 1918.

During this most critical time for the revolution, on the recommendation of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk party organization, Frunze was appointed military commissar for the huge Yaroslavl district, which covered eight guberniyas. The range of his military activities widened significantly. In his new position he displayed brilliant organizational talents. However, he wanted to do more. He was attracted to the front, to have battle command.

On 26 December 1918, on the basis of the RKP(b) Central Committee resolution, the republic's Revolutionary Military Council appointed M. V. Frunze commander of the Fourth Army on the Eastern Front. He left for the front with a 1,500-man detachment of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Red Army party members. At that time, the army was holding the right flank of the front and was deployed along a 350-kilometer-long sector. The units were suffering from partisanship. Orders were being disobeyed. The Red Army men were poorly armed and clothed. Mutinies had broken out. Shortly before Frunze's arrival, the rebels had killed G. D. Lindov, member of the Fourth Army Revolutionary Military Council.



Frunze demanded the observance of the strictest possible discipline. Many commanders objected to this and invited the commander "for a talk," spreading the rumor that he was allegedly a former tsarist general of German nationality.

It was difficult to anticipate what could happen. However, his revolutionary sense suggested to him the only proper solution under the circumstances. Frunze attended the meeting of the enraged commanders unarmed, without a guard, accompanied by a single ADC. He gave a brief description of his life, spoke of his trial by the tsarist court and his forced labor, described what he had done subsequently and the way the party had sent him to the army. He declared that in the future he would strictly punish anyone who violated military discipline. Frunze's behavior and words had a tremendous impact on the commanders. As of then the army began to purge itself of partisan views. However, long and persistent efforts were needed to strengthen it once and for all. In the final account, this was achieved and the regiments mounted an offensive, capturing a large area from the White Cossacks. By then Frunze's military talent had become apparent.

His talent as a military leader, however, was displayed most outstandingly in the spring and summer of 1919, after assuming command of the Southern Group of Armies on the Eastern Front. A new stage in the history of the civil war and intervention began in the spring of 1919. The powers of the Entente, who had been defeated in the southern part of the country, were forced to stop sending new military contingents to Soviet Russia. Now they relied mainly on the White Guards and the armies of countries bordering Soviet Russia to the West. The best-trained among the forces of the internal revolution at that time was the army commanded by Admiral Kolchak, who had been armed and equipped by the Entente imperialists, the United States above all, which had given it in 1919 alone 400,000 carbines, 1,000 machine guns, many artillery guns, hundreds of millions of bullets and shells, and uniforms.

At the time of his offensive, Kolchak had massed on the Eastern Front more than 130,000 infantry and cavalry troops, 1,300 machine guns and 210 artillery pieces. The opposing Red Army troops numbered no more than 100,000 bayonets and sabers. The enemy opened his offensive from the Urals to the Volga at the beginning of March; by mid-April he was between 40 and 100 kilometers from the great Russian river, having seized a considerable territory in Siberia, the Urals and along the Volga.

A grave menace threatened the Soviet republic. The "RKPD(b) Central Committee Theses on the Situation on the Eastern Front," drafted by Lenin, were published on 12 April 1919. They became a program for the mobilization of all forces and means for the defeat of the enemy. The party proclaimed the mobilization of its members. A total of 11,000 party members and 3,000 members of the Komsomol went to the Eastern Front, to cement the ranks of the Red Army. Major military-organizational steps were taken as well. The front armies were divided into two groups: southern and northern. Frunze was appointed commander of the forces of the southern group of armies (Fifth, First, Turkestan and Fourth). The members of his Revolutionary Military Council included V. V. Kuybyshev and military specialist F. F. Novitskiy, a general from the old army. The troops under Frunze's command were assigned

the main role in routing the Kolchak forces. It was precisely here that the military talent of this Leninist revolutionary was manifested.

However, this was not to everyone's liking. There were those who not only questioned the military talent of this former clandestine worker but who also tried to remove him from high command positions. In particular, one of them was Trotsky, who was then chairman of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council. Under those circumstances the RKP(b) Central Committee and Lenin, who trusted Frunze implicitly, gave him their support.

With the help of the members of the Revolutionary Military Council and making use of the knowledge of the old military specialists, Frunze drafted a definitive plan for the defeat of the main enemy forces. With full justification, he believed that the most dangerous Kolchak group was the one advancing on Samara. This group was vulnerable at its southern flank. Taking this into consideration, Frunze decided to oppose the army frontally with small forces and to make his main strike from the north, at the left flank of the White Guards, i.e., at the main enemy concentration. This was a daring and difficult plan which required tremendous military-organizational and political work among the troops. It was difficult to assemble the divisions on time, for the situation with transports was difficult. Regiments and brigades were scattered and, furthermore, the season for bad roads had arrived. Although the main reinforcements had still not arrived no further delays were possible. Such reinforcements could have been used essentially to develop the initial success. Things were much better in the area of political work, not only because it was headed by an experienced organizer, such as Kuybyshev, but also because Frunze was perfectly aware of its significance and was himself a brilliant propagandist and skillful politician. Many appeals to the troops were drafted by him personally. The central and local press were extensively used in the armed forces. Talks, lectures and reports were presented to the Red Army men. Some 3 million copies of newspapers and 2 million pamphlets and leaflets were distributed among the Southern Group of Armies between April and May 1919.

"The time has come for toiling Russia to complete the struggle against the stubborn enemy," read an appeal to the forces of the Southern Group, drafted by Frunze while the offensive was already under way. "The time has come to kill in one terrible blow all hopes of the servants of the world of capital and oppression for a possible return to the old order. You have already made a good start. Kolchak's front is cracking along all seams. Now we must finish the job. By throwing you into yet another offensive, I would like to remind you that it is with this that you will resolve once and for all the argument between labor and capital, between the world of equality and justice and the world of oppression and exploitation. In this great and sacred struggle, worker-peasant Russia has the right to demand of every one of her children to fulfill his duty in full. We shall fulfill this duty!

"Our first step is Ufa; our last is Siberia, free from Kolchak. Forward, daringly!"

One of the features of Frunze's talent as a military leader was the fact that he organically combined knowledge of military affairs with the tremendous experience of a party revolutionary. He had a deep understanding of party policy, slogans and influence on the combat operations of the Red Army, changes in the deployment of ~~arms~~ forces in the country and the behavior of the various peasant and Cossack strata. He not only understood but used them in the armed struggle against the White Guards and the interventionists. It was a question above all of changing the attitude of the party toward the middle peasantry which accounted for the talk of the Red Army troops. The 8th RKP(b) Congress had decreed a turn from the policy of neutralizing the middle peasantry for concluding a strong alliance with it. This was of tremendous importance to the course and outcome of the civil war. Based on the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress, Frunze, the military commissars and the political workers strengthened the combat alliance between the working class and middle peasantry, enhancing the combat capability of the Red Army units on the Eastern Front. Frunze's gift as a politician was clearly manifested also in his ability to use a great variety of means in fighting the enemy, hastening the breakdown of enemy troops, applying flexible tactics toward vacillating White Guards and winning over, although temporarily, unstable fellow travelers. Here again this proletarian military leader followed Lenin's instructions.

An example of this was a compromise reached with the Bashkir nationalists, who had broken off with Kolchak. As a result, an entire corps had switched over to the side of the Red Army. All of this had a most beneficial impact on strengthening the situation of the troops on the Eastern Front.

On 28 April, the armies of the Southern Group mounted a combined strike against the enemy, attacking from the front, the sides and the rear. As a result of the successful conduct of three consecutive operations (Buguruslan, Belebey and Ufa), the Kolchak forces were routed and retreated to the Ural Mountains.

Frunze displayed tremendous personal courage in the battle against the White Guards, as exemplified in an incident which took place near Ufa at the beginning of June 1919. The Kolchak forces had retreated across the Belaya River and set up defense positions. On the night of 7 June, the 217th Pugachev and 220th Ivanovo-Voznesensk regiments were the first to cross the river. During the day, the commanding officer joined them. Meanwhile, the Kolchak troops were bringing up fresh troops. Enemy aircraft flew over and began to bomb the crossings, halting the movement of our forces. Making use of this situation, the enemy hurled himself on the two Red regiments and began to push them back to the river. A critical situation developed. Immediately, Frunze went to the front line. The Ivanovo-Voznesensk troops, who knew him personally, were cheered up and stopped retreating. Subsequently, together with their commander, who had grabbed a rifle, they rushed into a counterattack. The Kolchak forces retreated. No one, however, commander or Red Army man, was aware of the tremendous effort it was for Frunze to rush to the attack. Once again his knee, which had been damaged by the Cossacks in 1905, was dislocated, causing him considerable pain.

Shortly afterwards, the enemy once again mounted his counterattack, supported by aviation. Frunze was hit by an exploding bomb, his horse killed under him; Chapayev, who commanded the division which included the Pugachev and Ivanovo-Voznesensk regiments, was wounded by machine gun fire. On the morning of 9 June, selected Kolchak regiments, spearheaded by the Kappelev forces, mounted a "psychological attack." The reader will remember this episode from the film "Chapayev," made by the brothers Vasil'yev. The enemy suffered a crushing defeat.

By the end of June 1919, the troops under Frunze's command had entirely liberated the territory seized by the Kolchak forces in the Volga-Ural area and had honorably fulfilled their revolutionary assignment. The significance of this strike, however, was incomparably greater, for as a result of it the main enemy forces were demoralized and a general Red Army offensive along the entire Eastern Front had been prepared.

Under these circumstances, the Southern Group of Armies was given the assignment of routing the Ural White Cossacks and the Kolchak divisions which were fighting on the right flank of the Eastern Front, to suppress the Cossack mutinies in the Ural and Orenburg areas and to prevent Denikin's forces, which had mounted an offensive in the central part of the country at that time, to join the Kolchak troops. Frunze was given great operative freedom in mounting military operations in the southern part of the Eastern Front.

Toward the end of June the Red Army found itself in a difficult situation. The White Cossacks had captured the city of Nikolayevsk (Pugachev) and were 65 kilometers from the Volga. Informed of this fact, Lenin cabled Frunze: "The development of enemy successes in the Nikolayevsk area is very alarming. Keep accurately informed. Are you paying sufficient attention to this area? What forces are you concentrating and why are you not accelerating the massing of the troops? Urgently report all measures you are taking" (op. cit., vol 51, pp 3-4). Frunze immediately reported to Lenin the plan for the Ural operation aimed at defeating the White Cossacks. It called for lifting the blockade of Uralsk and clearing the way to Turkestan. Both were carried out soon afterwards.

The military situation in the southern part of the country seriously worsened in July 1919 as a result of the offensive mounted by Denikin's army, which included heavy cavalry concentrations, which played a tremendous role in the civil war, and tanks, which the Red Army lacked. It was particularly important, under these circumstances, to clear the Urals from the Kolchak forces as quickly as possible and move new divisions from the Eastern Front to fight Denikin. It was no accident, therefore, that the party recommended that Frunze be made commander of the Eastern Front, for he was able to fight like a revolutionary, which was precisely what Lenin demanded of the Red commanders. In one month the Urals were totally cleared of the enemy and the remnants of his armies retreated into Siberia. Only two armies were left to finish off the Kolchak forces. One of them, the Fifth, commanded by Tukhachevskiy, advanced in the main direction.



On 15 August Frunze assumed command of the Turkestan Front, which consisted of the Southern Group of Armies of the Eastern Front, which was becoming particularly important at that time. It was here, in the East, that it was of exceptional importance to have a commander who was not only a military leader but also an experienced politician and diplomat, well familiar with the features of the area, for it was a question not only of the military routing of the White Guards and the interventionists but also of the development of the revolution in Central Asia. Frunze brilliantly coped with the assignments set to him by the RKP(b) Central Committee and Lenin. By the spring of 1920, the Red Army units commanded by Frunze defeated the White Guards in Turkestan. Turning Soviet Turkestan into a milepost of the revolution in the East became the main task. The area was extremely backward. For a long time it had been cut off from Soviet Russia. Many revolutionary changes were being made here with delays, and errors were allowed to occur. The necessary steps had to be earmarked and properly taken in order to undertake the building of socialism, bypassing capitalism. The Turkestan Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the RSFSR Sovnarkom, which also had been granted plenary powers by the RKP(b) Central Committee, had been operating here since the autumn of 1919. Frunze became a member of the commission and coordinated with it all of his activities.

People's revolutions broke out in Khiva and Bukhara. The working people won their victory with the fraternal aid of the Red Army, which responded to the call of the oppressed peoples.

Peace was made with Poland, which had attacked the land of the soviets that same spring, in the autumn of 1920. The Civil War was winding up. However, an army nearly 100,000 strong, commanded by Baron Vrangeli, was in the Crimea, hiding behind strong defense fortifications. The White Guards had to be defeated by the winter at all cost, by the force of arms and, if necessary, through diplomacy. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin recommended that Frunze be made commander of the Southern Front. Within a short time, Mikhail Vasil'yevich became thoroughly familiar with the most complex and, to him, new situation. He realized the desire of the enemy to mount an offensive in an easterly direction--toward the Donbass--and in the Northwest--toward Right Bank Ukraine, to support the offensive of the White Poles. At a conference with the commanders of the Sixth and 13th Armies and the First and Second Mounted Armies, on 29 September, Frunze presented his strategic plan: to lift the threat of enemy invasion of Right Bank Ukraine and the Donbass with strikes in several directions, to surround Vrangeli's main forces in the steppes of the Crimean Peninsula and to destroy them entirely. The plan was unanimously supported by the participants in the conference.

The main blow was to be dealt from the Kakhovka bridgehead. "This strike," Frunze wrote in his order to the forces of the Southern Front, "should be headlong and lightning-swift. It should save the country from the difficulties of a winter campaign...."

Despite the ordnance superiority enjoyed by Vrangeli's forces--they had more machine guns, 25 tanks and 35 armored troop carriers, absolute superiority in the air and huge stocks of shells and cartridges--they were unable to hold their positions because of the headlong strike of the Red Army which, although

lacking tanks, was superior to the enemy in revolutionary spirit and proletarian resolve to defeat the last enemy in the Civil War.

The command of the Southern Front planned to rout the enemy forces in Northern Tavriya in order to stop them from retreating toward the Crimea. For that reason, Frunze ordered S. M. Budennyi, who commanded the First Cavalry Army, to capture on the run the Salkovskiy and Arabatskiy Isthmuses, with a swift cavalry advance. Vrangeli was forced to change his initial intention when the First Cavalry Army appeared at his back. Instead of fighting for northern Tavriya, he ordered a general retreat of the forces to the Crimea.

After dealing crushing blows at the Vrangeli forces, the forces of the Southern Front reached the Perekop Isthmus and the Chongara, Sivash and Arabat points. The enemy had turned this entire area into an impenetrable fortress. The positions held by the enemy forces were further strengthened by natural conditions. The storming of this fortification seemed impossible. Vrangeli complacently said that the Crimea was inaccessible to anyone.

However, the martial skill of the Red Army command, of Frunze in particular, the unparalleled high spirit and the supreme heroism of troops and commanders, made the impossible possible. On the night of 8 November, the troops of the Southern Front mounted a general offensive. They crossed the Sivash under incredibly difficult conditions and dealt a crushing blow from the rear at the Vrangeli forces defending Perekop. In the early morning of 11 November, advance elements of the Red Army had captured the enemy positions and started their offensive toward Dzhanka. "...We were absolutely correct," Frunze recalled later, "by deciding to start the attack without delays, even without waiting for the arrival of the heavy artillery which had remained behind. The enemy was totally surprised by such a fast strike on our part."

On 12 November 1920 Frunze cabled Lenin: "I confirm the highest valor displayed by the heroic infantry in storming Sivash and Perekop.... The front armies fulfilled their duty to the republic. The last nest of the Russian counterrevolution has been wrecked, and once again Crimea will be Soviet."

"This decided the fate of the Crimea" Frunze wrote, "and with it the fate of the entire southern Russian counterrevolution."

It took Frunze less than 2 months to prepare the troops of the southern front for the final major Red Army operation in the Civil War and to meet in their entirety the assignments set by the party, the Soviet government and, personally, Lenin. No defense "unreachable" installations (built with the direct participation of Entente military engineers of the White Guards, their heavy artillery and machine gun fire, and the sea itself which protected the Crimea) could stop the forward thrust of the forces of the Southern Front. Within a single week they cleared all of Crimea from Vrangeli's forces. Lenin rated the operations of the Southern Front exceptionally highly. He said: "...The Red Army displayed inordinate heroism by surmounting obstacles and fortifications which even military specialists and authorities deemed impregnable. One of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Red Army is the full, decisive and outstandingly fast victory won over Vrangeli" (op. cit., vol 42, p 130).

The Crimean operation was the last major battle of the Civil War period in Soviet Russia. It was also the highest, the culminating point in the development of the marshal skills of the Red Army during that most difficult period of our history.

The Civil War ended. The land of the soviets began peaceful construction. However, calm did not prevail everywhere. Makhno's kulak-anarchist gangs were committing excesses in the Ukraine and terrorizing the population. Banditry in that area had to be eliminated immediately and the principle-minded policy of the party and the Soviet system had to be implemented but with tactical flexibility. Once again we see Frunze as commander of all armed forces in the Ukraine as well as deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom and representative of the Council of Labor and Defense. Here again he brilliantly combined military with state-economic work.

Makhno was defeated once and for all in the summer of 1921 and escaped abroad. The Ukrainian workers and peasants took up constructive labor with new energy. While in the Ukraine, Frunze performed an important diplomatic mission. As head of a special delegation, he went to Turkey for talks, as a result of which diplomatic relations were established between the Ukrainian SSR and Turkey.

During the Civil War, this clandestine bolshevik worker, hero of the revolutionary battles against autocracy and active participant in the Great October Socialist Revolution, who had gone through the Leninist school of political struggle, also became a great proletarian military and experienced party and Soviet leader. The party and the Soviet government highly rated Frunze's military accomplishments. He was awarded two Orders of the Red Banner and a ceremonious revolutionary weapon--a sword with the inscription "To the People's Hero."

In the mid-1920s, when the question of appointing a new people's commissar in charge of army and navy affairs and chairman of the USSR Revolutionary Military Council arose, a person who would steadfastly follow the Leninist party line and military policy, the party and the Soviet government selected Frunze, who assumed these positions on 26 January 1925.

M. V. Frunze was distinguished not only by his outstanding art as a military leader but his fine political sensitivity. He could anticipate the future, including the aggravation of the international situation, and believed that the wars waged against the first socialist countries would not be wars in the usual meaning of the term but clashes between two hostile systems to the death. During the aggravation of the international situation of the Soviet state in connection with the so-called Curzon ultimatum, Frunze delivered in Kharkov a speech at the extraordinary session of the VUTsIK.

"...I must say," he said, "that those among our enemies who interpret our peaceable policy as helplessness are truly mistaken.... We are peaceful not because we are weak and cannot fight but because we are truly wont to pursue a policy of peace...."

"However, this policy of peace has its limits. Our government declared that we shall never allow anything which would harm our state independence in the least." This fiery statement made by Frunze is as topical and relevant today as it was in 1923.

A military reform was made and the army was reorganized on a new regular basis with Frunze's direct participation. He formulated the basic principles of the new proletarian army, including regulations governing the structure of the armed forces of the Soviet state, political work, one-man command, discipline, cadre training and importance of science and technology in future wars.

In pointing out the fast progress of military technology, Frunze emphasized that today's most advanced combat material will be obsolete tomorrow and cannot guarantee success. Therefore, the country's economy must be structured in such a way that in peacetime all economic sectors be prepared in advance and be able, should this become necessary, to convert within the shortest possible time to war industry production and to meeting military requirements.

The development of military technology and the improvement of means of destruction, M. V. Frunze wrote, essentially refute the very concept of "front" and "rear" in the old meaning of those terms. The burden of waging war will fall on the entire nation, the entire country.

Should the enemy invade Soviet territory with superior equipment, Frunze recommended a combination of mobile and flexible troop operations with the extensive use of guerrilla warfare. Many of his predictions came true in the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War.

Mikhail Vasil'yevich knew where to look for the main link in the strategy of a future war. Sergey Mironovich Kirov recalls the following:

"I shall never forget how a year ago, visiting Frunze, I was amazed at what I saw on his desk. There were booklets which had seemingly nothing to do with military affairs. They dealt with engineering in the manufacturing of motor vehicles. Comrade Frunze repeatedly spoke about our need to enhance military technology while our country was in a state of peace, for we would be needing the same types of most advanced military equipment at the disposal of our enemies. Unquestionably, aviation would be one such area, and Frunze, it turned out, had been able by then to learn quite a lot about the entire structure of airplanes."

Although he had allotted M. V. Frunze little time, he was able to accomplish a tremendous amount. He displayed a tremendous talent as an organizer and intelligence as a statesman. It was on his initiative that the new bylaws for all branches of the armed forces were drafted and adopted. Party-political work in the army was improved considerably. Appointed commander of the military academy in April 1924, Frunze reorganized its training process entirely, bringing theory closer to practice and paying particular attention to the study of the outstanding Red Army operations conducted in the civil war.



Frunze left behind extremely rich works on military science and art, on the significance of the economy in wartime, on new types of weaponry, cadre training and perfecting the organizational structure of armed forces and the army of a new type. All of them are set on a firm Marxist-Leninist basis and thoroughly imbued with a spirit of party-mindedness. Frunze always considered Marxist-Leninist theory a powerful ideological weapon and an important source of Red Army strength. "In order for our commander in the worker-peasant Red Army to be on the necessary level, as commander of an entirely unique army of the socialist revolution," Frunze emphasized, "he must master to perfection the method of Marxism-Leninism." His most important works are "The Reorganization of the Red Army" (1921), "Uniform Military Doctrine and the Red Army" (1921), "Regular Army and Militia" (1922), "Front and Rear in Future War" (1924), "Lenin and the Red Army" (1925), and others.

By applying to military affairs Marxism as a science and dialectical materialism, and summing up the experience of the First World War and the Civil War, Frunze raised to a new qualitative level the development of military thinking and formulated for many years ahead the basic directions followed in Soviet military construction.

The main features in the life and activities of M. V. Frunze, a military leader of the revolution, which makes him our contemporary and close and unforgettable to all of us, were his inflexible loyalty to the party, love for the socialist homeland and a high feeling of responsibility for assignments, whatever his position.

The Soviet people deeply revere the memory of Mikhail Vasil'yevich Frunze, the crystalline pure bolshevik, member of Lenin's guard, fearless revolutionary and great proletarian military leader, whose actions and thoughts will always inspire patriots to new military and labor exploits for the sake of the great objective for which he struggled--communism.

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## THE BASIS OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

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[Article by L. Tolkunov]

[Text] Yalta-Potsdam-Helsinki are three important points on the difficult path covered by peoples in recent decades in the difficult struggle to guarantee a lasting peace; they are the places of three international conferences whose decisions reflected and confirmed mankind's striving to preclude the fire of a new world war, and to achieve peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation among states irrespective of their social systems. Four decades have passed since the Yalta and the Potsdam meetings of the leaders of the three big powers--the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain--which, in the difficult years of World War II, spearheaded the anti-Hitlerite coalition and brought it to victory over fascist Germany, militarist Japan and their Allies. These conferences worked out decisions that provided a foundation for peace on war-torn European soil. Thirty years later, at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the heads of states and governments of 33 European countries, the United States of America and Canada countersigned the Final Act--a document that summed up the political results of the war, confirmed the inviolability of the borders that had taken shape in Europe and became as it were a code of rules for peaceful coexistence among the states and peoples of the European continent.

What these three international meetings of great historic importance have in common in our consciousness is not only the fact that their jubilees coincide in the current year. Among them there runs a straight line of successive ideas and principles whose implementation in the practice of international relations has greatly helped the peoples of Europe live under conditions of peace for nearly 40 years. For this reason it is only natural to examine them in a close connection conditioned by the entire postwar development of the situation in Europe.

It was February 1945...the powerful wave of Soviet armies was moving inexorably westward. The distance to Berlin shrank to 60 kilometers. The war was coming to an end. The question was all the more topical since the instructive lessons of the interwar period were still fresh. The Versailles

peace system created by the victorious imperialist states after World War I contained from the very beginning the seeds of a new worldwide conflict, and for this reason it did not pass the test of time. The situation that emerged in the victorious spring of 1945 was completely different. The decisive role of the USSR in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, the general growth of the forces of democracy, the upsurge of the national liberation movement--all that provided conditions for a just organization of postwar Europe in line with the expectations of peoples and in the interests of consolidating peace and of creating an international system to maintain general peace. The Yalta agreements made an invaluable contribution to further progress along this path.

In the diplomatic correspondence among its participants, the Crimean (Yalta) conference of the leaders of the three powers, held 4-11 February 1945, received the code name "Argonaut." One can say that this name in many respects reflected the meaning of the ancient Greek myth about the voyages made by brave discoverers to unexplored coasts. After all, it was necessary to open up a new chapter in the history of international relations and to give mankind a model of peaceful coexistence among states with opposing systems. And the conference coped with this mission.

It adopted decisions of historic importance on questions concerning both the victorious completion of the war and the postwar organization. It convincingly confirmed that states with different social systems were fully able to effectively cooperate in the military and the political fields and to adopt concerted and mutually accepted decisions.

The Soviet Union went to the conference with a clear and constructive program for action to guarantee genuine security in Europe, a program for close cooperation among the Allies in the war against fascism, in the organization of postwar peace and in creating an effective universal international organization that, unlike the League of Nations formed after World War I, would be able indeed to guarantee peace and security on the basis of recognizing the equal rights of all European peoples to establish a social system and to opt for a form of government preferred by them to ensure their prosperity. Having defeated Hitlerism in the shortest time possible, the USSR was firmly determined to defend mankind against the threat of revived fascism and militarism, to guarantee overall security and to provide favorable conditions for the progressive development of social processes.

The objective conditions emerging in that period were favorable for the acceptance of such a program. In the struggle against Hitlerism, a reliable basis emerged for international cooperation, a basis manifested in the general aspiration to complete the defeat of the enemy and to bring about an unconditional capitulation of German fascism and Japanese militarism; to create a postwar peace system that would guarantee a reliable security to peoples and that would enable the big powers to continue cooperation in settling postwar problems; to eradicate German fascism and militarism and to provide conditions for a radical democratic reform of Germany.

Hence it is easy to see why the Allies were interested in concerted decisions and actions. The communique on the conference announced that the Allies

"fully agreed upon and planned in detail the timing, proportions and coordination of new and even more powerful blows which are to be delivered by our armies and air forces from the East, the West, the North and the South at the heart of Germany.

"The participants in the Crimean conference agreed upon a common policy and plans for ensuring the unconditional capitulation of Germany, upon the zones of occupation guaranteeing the capitulation conditions, upon the 'Greater Berlin' administration and upon the control mechanism of the allied states. They drew up basic principles for their guidance in the treatment of Germany. The Allies proclaimed that their inflexible goal was to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to provide guarantees that Germany would never be in a condition to encroach upon world peace." They also stated: "We are fully resolved to disarm and disband all German Armed Forces, to destroy once and for all the German general staff which repeatedly helped revive German militarism, to confiscate or to destroy all German military equipment, to eliminate or to take under control the entire German industry that could be used for military production; to impose a just and swift punishment on all war criminals and to compensate in kind for the damages caused by the Germans; to wipe the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions off the face of the earth; to remove any Nazi and militarist influence from public institutions, from the cultural and economic life of the German people and to take in Germany other common steps necessary for the future peace and security all over the world." "It is not our goal," the three powers proclaimed, "to annihilate the German people. Only when Nazism and militarism are eradicated will there be for the German people hope for an adequate existence and for a place in the community of nations."

The Declaration on Liberated Europe, adopted in Ya'ta, was a document of great importance. It consolidated the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of liberated states by the big powers, with the right of peoples to opt for a sociopolitical system and a form of state organization after the war.

The conference document, "Unity in Organizing Peace and in Waging War," seems to be looking decades ahead. It confirmed in essence, as a basis for future international relations, the principle of peaceful coexistence. The Allies confirmed the common resolve to preserve and strengthen in the period of peace ahead the unity of goals and actions, which enabled them to triumph in the common war. "We believe," they declared, "that this is a sacred duty of our governments before their peoples, as well as before peoples all over the world. Mankind's high striving for a strong and lasting peace can only be realized when cooperation and mutual understanding among our three powers and all peace-loving peoples continue and grow..."

A state as large as restored Poland was expected to become an important member of the new community of European nations. The participants in the Yalta conference confirmed their will to see a "strong, free, independent and democratic Poland," recognized that "Poland should obtain a substantial territorial increase in the North and the West," and adopted in principle an appropriate decision on the new borders of Poland. In this way the problem of



Polish state borders was, for the first time in many centuries, justly settled.

In line with an agreement among the conference participants, the Soviet Union pledged itself in Yalta to join the war against Japan 2-3 months after the capitulation of Germany and the end of the war in Europe. As is known, this pledge was punctually fulfilled.

Before leaving Yalta, W. Churchill, head of the government of Great Britain, stated: "Constant friendship and cooperation among the three big powers were proclaimed more accurately and more authoritatively than ever before." The U.S. president, F.D. Roosevelt, emphasized on his part that "the chief allies have never before been more closely united not only for the purposes of the war, but also for the purposes of peace."

Of course, relations among the Allies were not without internal tensions and serious contradictions. The Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the Western powers, on the other, approached important issues on the agenda from substantially differing positions. The divergencies among them became even more distinct at the next interallied conference in Potsdam, from 17 June to 2 August 1945. But, owing to the distribution of forces existing then, immediately after the war, owing to the state of public opinion in the world, owing to the feeling of realism and common sense displayed by the conference participants, and mainly owing to the firm and principled position taken by the USSR, Potsdam consolidated and developed the Yalta line. As a result of this, Europe received a developed program for the democratic organization of postwar peace.

As a result of the hard diplomatic struggle around the main item on the agenda, the future of Germany, the antifascist, democratic concept of its development proposed and firmly defended by the USSR, triumphed. The Soviet Union had never confused the German people with the Hitlerite clique. It proceeded from the point that, after the defeat of fascism, the German people should have the opportunity to take a suitable place among the free and peaceful peoples of Europe. Owing to the persistent line of the USSR, the Western plans for the partitioning of Germany were turned down. The Soviet delegation firmly declared in Potsdam: "We turn down this proposal, it is unnatural; Germany must not be dismembered, but must be turned into a democratic and peace-loving state."

Owing to the efforts of the Soviet Union, decisions were adopted calling for far-reaching measures to eradicate militarism and fascism and to democratize the entire political life in Germany. "German militarism and fascism," it was emphasized in the conference documents, "will be eradicated, and the Allies, in agreement with each other, will now and in the future adopt also other measures necessary so that Germany never more endangers its neighbors or the preservation of peace all over the world."

Potsdam also confirmed the Yalta agreements concerning Poland. From then on the Polish state had received frontiers conditioned by historical, ethnographic and geographic factors and meeting the interests of peace and security in Europe. It is important to note that the Potsdam agreements on

this point are unrestricted in time and final. They term the lands allotted to Poland "former German territories." While proceeding from this point, the conference participants adopted the decision to shift the German population from Polish lands. And although the Potsdam agreement provided that the "final delineation of Poland's western borders should be postponed until a peace conference," the spirit of the agreement implied the intention to approve this border formally and legally with the participation of the interested countries. The decisions adopted by the Allies also implied the responsibility of the Western powers and the Soviet Union for guaranteeing peace and security in Europe, particularly on the basis of recognizing the Polish western borders. No one has relieved or can relieve the big powers of this obligation.

As we can see, the Yalta and the Potsdam agreements have laid a good foundation for a lasting peace in Europe. Both conferences adopted decisions corresponding to the lofty goals of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, to the ideas of democracy, justice and social progress, and to the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with various social systems. These decisions marked the victory of democratic principles in determining the ways of settling the German problem, and served as a model of international obligations assumed in the interests of all peace-loving peoples. They were democratic and constructive and provided a reliable basis for continuing businesslike cooperation among the Allies in the Anti-Hitlerite coalition under the conditions of peace and for settling postwar problems. In their entire substance, these decisions were aimed at the future, at a just and reliable postwar organization in Europe. When we make a step across the decades to our days, we can see direct threads running from Yalta and Potsdam to the agreements concluded between the socialist and capitalist countries in the 1970s, including to the Moscow, the Warsaw, the Berlin and the Prague agreements with the FRG and to the Helsinki Final Act, which have aroused among peoples well-founded hopes for the consolidation of security and stability in Europe.

However, one cannot strike out the decades of tensions and the "cold war" from the history of the continent. The policy of Western states, primarily of the United States, went in those years against the obligations assumed by them in Yalta and Potsdam. Western states have departed from the principles of policy concerted with regard to Germany and have in essence embarked again upon the path of reaching, on the anti-Soviet platform, an agreement with German imperialism. After the war, Alan Brook, chief of the British imperial general staff, wrote in his diary: "Either to dismember Germany, or to convert it gradually into an ally...from now on, we must see Germany from a completely different point of view...For this reason preserve Germany, gradually restore it and include in it the West European alliance." In his book "The Germans and the Russians," West German author (G. Khan) recalls that in his Stuttgart speech delivered on 6 September 1946, J. Byrnes, U.S. secretary of state, warmed up already illusory hopes for the restitution of the lands located to the East of the Oder and the Neisse as a reward for the efforts to restore the German military potential.

Late in 1947 J. F. Dulles, future secretary of state, said that there would be "no return to the policy of Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam."

West Germany was going to be restored as an armored fist against the USSR, as an important instrument in the policy of "containing communism," an instrument that would facilitate the chimerical objective--the return to the prewar orientation on the isolation of the Soviet Union, on depriving it of a say in settling the continent's destinies and on the creation of a new "cordon sanitaire" along its western borders. U.S. President H. Truman wrote in January 1946 that "it was necessary to show the Russians an iron fist and to speak to them in strong terms...I think, now we must not make any concessions." Later on it became known that even late in 1945 he nursed plans for inflicting nuclear strikes on important centers of the USSR.

The U.S. administration's declassified documents from the beginning of the 1950s have been published recently in the United States. They refer to the American strategic plan under the code name "Operation Solarium," which called for a "steady pursuit of a purposeful and energetic strategy in all fields and by all means: military, economic, diplomatic, secret and propaganda." The edge of the "operation" was directed against the USSR and the countries of people's democracy. It was planned to intensify preparations for a total war against the USSR and to "provoke maximal agitation and resistance in all countries of the Soviet bloc." Even as early as 6-7 years after Yalta and Potsdam, a Washington secret plan provided for creating a united Germany through the forced annexation of the German Democratic Republic to the FRG, "pro-Western in its orientation and rearmed."

By separate actions contradictory to the Potsdam agreements, Western powers have split Germany in order to rearm its western part and to incorporate it in the system of Western military alliances and to "oust the USSR from Europe by force." It is well known that Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor of the FRG, regarded the task of remilitarizing West Germany and incorporating it in NATO as more important than the reunification of Germany. This has been confirmed, for example, by his pronouncements published in the book entitled "Konrad Adenauer--Conversations Over a Cup of Tea, 1950-54." The book reproduces the minutes of Adenauer's confidential conversations with journalists. "Contrary to all public statements, the military incorporation of the FRG in the Western alliance was more important for him than a chance to reunite Germany," wrote STERN weekly in its review of the book. "And Adenauer was convinced that the FRG was only able to acquire safety at the cost of its rearmament and military annexation to the West." Well, it was not mere chance that the Yalta agreements were a "nightmare" for Adenauer.

In flagrant defiance of the allied agreements, Western states set about remilitarizing the FRG. With their connivance and assistance, the Bundeswehr has become the strongest European army of 500,000 troops, the backbone of the Atlantic host in Europe. In West Germany, the forces of neo-Nazism and revanchism have again lifted their heads.

It was the refusal to recognize the regularity of the historical changes in Europe and the attempts to represent the victory of people's democratic regimes in East European countries as "Moscow's doing" that lay at the basis of the big shift in the policy of Western states toward confrontation and challenging the Yalta and Potsdam principles.



The falsifiers of history do not want even now to recognize the objective character of the revolutions that engulfed those countries and changed their features, do not want to see the fact that the new power has emerged from the liberation movement of peoples against fascism and reactionary regimes, that there were objectively favorable conditions for its emergence and that among the most important of those conditions was the fact that the Soviet Union was able to defend East European countries against the danger of an armed intervention on the part of imperialist powers, hindered the forces of the internal counterrevolution from unleashing a civil war and gave the new states all-around support, protecting their sovereignty and firmly insisting on noninterference in their domestic affairs.

Western hostility toward those states has been as if accumulated in policy with regard to the GDR. Its emergence and consolidation marked the failure of the calculations to use Germany, united on NATO terms, as a shock detachment of the world reaction against socialism. Socialism with its policy of peace and cooperation among peoples has firmly consolidated on German soil, on the very soil from which two world wars were unleashed in the current century. Bonn and NATO spent many years trying to isolate the GDR and to undermine it politically and economically. The notorious "Hallstein doctrine" of nonrecognition of the GDR was an instrument of that unrealistic and dangerous policy. The failure of that short-sighted policy was inevitable.

Notwithstanding all the destabilizing actions, an entire series of objective and subjective factors brought about on our continent gratifying changes in the 1970s. Detente did not emerge suddenly and unexpectedly. It also had a profound political base. This base was inherent in the Yalta and Potsdam decisions which laid down fair principles for the postwar organization in Europe. This was inherent in the common political platform for the decisions adopted by the Allies in 1945, as well as confirmed and approved again by all European states in Helsinki in 1975--the platform of cooperation among states with various social systems in the name of common goals: precluding aggression, establishing a lasting peace on our continent and mutually beneficial cooperation among the continent's peoples.

The Helsinki Final Act has fixed concrete principles for peaceful coexistence in all fields of relations among states of the two different systems. They are called upon to foster security and cooperation, to remove tension capable of overgrowing into an open conflict and to ensure normal, mutually beneficial relations among states. These principles should lead toward the willingness to settle differences and disputes not by force, but by peaceful means, should strengthen confidence and the aspiration to respect the legitimate interests of each other.

The principles of the Final Act have reflected the very essence of the ideas of peaceful coexistence, ideas that have acquired particular weight in our nuclear age. As the experience of all postwar decades shows, there cannot be any other basis for peace in Europe. While determining the future of Europe, the participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition proceeded precisely from these ideas.



As is known, in recent years Western right-wing circles, and primarily the Washington administration, have begun to question this basis of general peace. They have blocked the process of detente and have developed an unprecedented arms race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. They have their own "philosophy" of historical development, a "philosophy" that is a long way from the real alignment of forces on earth and from common sense, a rude, primitive "philosophy" of force disregarding the instructive lessons of the past.

Its essence is: the aspiration to reverse the clock of history, to stop and to throw back the worldwide revolutionary process, and to weaken the system of socialism. It is not mere accident that Yalta has become a swear word for the opponents of detente who regard the present European frontiers as mere "demarcation lines," and the Crimean conference itself as an act of "capitulation" of the United States and Great Britain to the USSR.

Generally speaking, some present bourgeois ideologists regard the results of the war as a "terrible revolution" in the history of Europe, a revolution that has split the continent into the "Red East" and the "democratic West" and has made all European countries dependent on "superpowers." They simply distort the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and show them as a deal concerning the division of "spheres of influence." For example, a book recently published in Great Britain under the title "A Total War" asserts that "in Yalta, the Western leaders declared the surrender of a half of Europe to Stalin." Some Western historians are developing the same thesis also in application to Potsdam. Some woeful historians are lamenting that the Allies demanded the unconditional capitulation of Germany and got it together. In their opinion, this resulted in a political vacuum which has been used by the Soviet Union. As it turns out, the war was lost not only by Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan, but also by the "whole of Western civilization."

The purpose of such "research works" is obvious: to place in doubt the very idea of cooperation among countries with various social systems, to present the case in such a way as if only one side profited by it, as well as to substantiate and to justify the present American "policy of force," its rigidity and unconstructive spirit.

While grossly falsifying the position of the Soviet Union in Yalta and completely contradicting the facts, Western historians are alleging that it was our country's idea to dismember Germany. This was the thesis brought forward, for example, by West German historian B. Meisner and others. A number of publications monotonously repeat the allegation that the territories located to the east from the Oder and the Neisse were handed over to Poland "for temporary administration."

Nonetheless, the historical facts prove indisputably: those were precisely the Western Allies who regarded Germany as their dangerous rival and competitor and who aspired to weaken it as much as possible. They were those who insisted on the dismemberment of Germany. It is sufficient to recall the "Morgenthau plan" or the "Eden plan" proposing to create on German territory separate independent states, to dismantle the industrial structure and to dismember the defeated country. Henry Morgenthau, secretary of the treasury in the Roosevelt administration, intended to convert Germany into a "country

of fields and pastures." In Yalta, the United States proposed to dismember Germany into from five to seven states. In Potsdam, it was prepared to be satisfied with three German states. But it was advocating the dismemberment of Germany in any case.

No one will succeed in distorting the consistent position of the USSR with regard to this issue. It has been fixed in the documents of the interallied conferences, in many Soviet foreign political acts, in evidence by the conference participants. After the war, the USSR persistently warned the FRG about the effects of its militarization and integration in NATO and invariably emphasized that these actions sacrificed the unity of Germany to plans for reviving militarism. When two sovereign states were formed on the territory of Germany, new territorial and political realities emerged in Europe. They had to be confirmed in international law, general relations among European states had to be normalized and mutually beneficial cooperation had to be arranged on the continent, because without this it was unthinkable to ensure European security. The USSR advocated precisely this realistic approach, and in this way it remained faithful to the spirit of the obligations assumed in Yalta and Potsdam.

Attacks against Yalta are attempts upon the principles of cooperation, governed by experience, among the big powers, upon the principles of coexistence among states. No wonder that, having proclaimed a "crusade" against socialism, U.S. President R. Reagan continued to place in doubt the postwar territorial and political structure in Europe. In his speech on 17 August 1984, he actually called for a revision of the decisions adopted by the Yalta conference, as well as of the Final Act of the CSCE, having emphasized that a "passive consent" to the present situation in Europe was, as he said, "no alternative" acceptable to Washington. In another speech delivered less than a month later, Reagan again questioned the decisions adopted by the leaders of the three allied powers at the Crimean conference. He is being seconded by U.S. Vice President G. Bush, Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger and other American figures: "We shall never accept the idea of a divided Europe." But let me ask: Who else has divided it if not the Western powers themselves by their policy of splitting Germany and of creating separate military-political groups in the West of the continent?

The campaign against Yalta and Potsdam is a symptom of the growing aggressiveness of the United States and NATO as a whole, and of the invigorated military preparations of the West, preparations in which a special role has been assigned to the reactionary circles of the FRG. Having given up the allied agreements on rooting out German militarism, the United States and their Atlantic bloc partners favor the build-up of the military potential of the FRG, which has been additionally attested to by the fact that, in 1984, the Western European Union abrogated the remaining restrictions on the production of strategic weapons in the FRG. In this way, the development of American nuclear missiles in the FRG is pulling this country ever deeper into the pool of Washington's aggressive military preparations and thus deepening the split of Europe. At the same time the U.S. Administration is actually warming up nationalist moods in the FRG, moods leading to the direct reanimation of revanchism. The American-West German military axis turns out to be in essence closely linked with the nationalist, revanchist slogans and

objectives of the West German reaction, and the slogans of revanchism are being provided with a militarist foundation of a highly specific form--a multilateral Atlantic foundation resting on a military alliance between the FRG and the United States.

The words and deeds of certain Bonn circles contradict the obligations of the FRG as a successor of the "German Reich," obligations that bind it to strictly observe the decisions adopted by the participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, to prevent its organs from any actions or statements going against their implementation, as well as to take steps to check such actions on the part of persons under the jurisdiction of those organs. How far Bonn has departed from these obligations!

Here is a characteristic item: The more American nuclear missiles are deployed in the FRG and the stronger the West German Bundeswehr is, the more outspoken are Bonn's right-wing circles in formulating their revanchist claims. The allegation that the "German question remains open" and that, legally, "Germany continues to exist in its 1937 borders" is the leitmotiv not only of numerous gatherings of "migrant" associations, but also of statements made by a number of bourgeois politicians, including members of the present FRG government. The question is what "Germany" may have in mind when in Europe there have been existing, for more than three decades, two German states officially recognized by the world community of nations.

In raising such claims, those in Bonn are actually renegeing not only the Yalta decisions, but also the Helsinki Final Act and the "eastern agreements" which have fixed the European realities and the inviolability of the borders existing on the continent.

How else can one interpret, for example, the declarations of Zimmermann, FRG minister of internal affairs, that "the problem of the reunification of Germany involves not only the FRG and the GDR, but also the former East German territories on the other side of the Oder-Neisse line," and that, allegedly, the "expulsion of the Germans who formerly lived in those lands is incompatible with the norms of international law." I venture one more question: Does not a member of the Bonn government know how the norms of international law are being shaped, and is it possible that he is unaware of the fact that Bonn's unilateral statements fall short of such norms?

It is obvious that the present revanchist claims are pointed primarily at People's Poland. The leader of the so-called "association of exiles" and CDU [Christian Democratic Union] deputy to the Bundestag, Czaja, alleges that the agreement between the FRG and the Polish People's Republic only stipulates for a "provisional recognition of Poland's sovereignty" in the lands situated to the east of the Oder and the Neisse. In his opinion, this agreement allegedly "does not rule out FRG responsibility for the aforesaid lands." The provocative demands are again being raised on the Rhine to promote a certain "solicitude" for the "German national minority" in the socialist countries to the rank of state policy. There are manifest attempts to revive the claims of the "Third Reich" to speak on behalf of all Germans irrespective of their citizenship, to disregard the sovereignty of other states and, against the



norms of international law, to extend West German jurisdiction on the territory of the neighboring countries.

The essence of the thesis of the "reunification of Germany," spread by the reactionary circles of the FRG, is becoming increasingly clear. Statements by Bonn government figures show that what they mean is a "reunification" within a state cut out to measures provided by Bonn and integrated in "free Europe." The scheme from the "cold war" times to extend the FRG orders on the GDR and to integrate the latter in the system of Western military and political alliances could hardly be expressed more clearly. It is not mere chance that the reactionary West German politicians refuse to recognize the frontier with the GDR as a state border with all ensuing effects, refuse to build their relations with the other German state on the basis of the generally accepted norms of international law, and interpret the FRG agreements with the socialist countries in a highly arbitrary manner, alleging that the borders delineated under these agreements are not final.

In view of all that, how can one believe in the assertions made by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and other representatives of official Bonn that there is "no revanchism" in the FRG? As a matter of fact, even some statements by the chancellor himself are bewildering. Kohl said, for example, that the anniversary of the final failure of Hitlerism in May 1945, of the triumph won by the antifascist forces of peace and of the liberation of the German people "reminded one of the lowest point in our history." Does not a figure as responsible as Kohl realize that he uses the terminology coined by those who would like, under the protection of Washington's global strategy, to revise the Yalta and Potsdam agreements?

In the FRG and beyond its borders, the number of sensible people warning against the dangers inherent in the revival of revanchist aspirations is growing. The dispute around the "German question," W. Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party in the FRG, noted, reminds one of the "dramatic effects of a dream, that vanish as soon as one wakes up." However hard Germany tries, even in words, to evade the question of the frontier on the Oder-Neisse, it "will not achieve anything--in any case, will not achieve anything good."

It is to be added that there is nothing good in store for those who, 40 years after Yalta and Potsdam, put in doubt the entire postwar structure in Europe, who pursue the line of confrontation and of undermining the political realities that have emerged on our continent as a result of the war and postwar development, although it would be foolhardy to underestimate the dangerous schemes of reactionary imperialist circles.

The deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe is particularly dangerous in this context. It brings about a qualitative change in the international situation. It suffices to have a glance at a geographic map: For the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe, American medium-range missiles are strategic weapons, the more dangerous given the U.S. and NATO military doctrine which permits Western powers to be the first to make use of nuclear weapons.



The true reason for deploying American nuclear weapons in Western Europe, including the FRG, lies in the fact that reactionary American circles, with the support of those sharing their views in other Western countries, have opted not for peaceful coexistence, but for attaining military superiority over the countries of socialism and for disrupting the existing strategic balance. Naturally enough, these aspirations are to be regarded in the general context of changes that have taken place in the U.S. and NATO position to the strategy of direct "opposition" to the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. Thus, they would like to erase the Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki line aimed at peaceful coexistence among peoples.

Such actions, very dangerous to the future of mankind, are being screened behind propaganda reasoning about a "Soviet threat" allegedly stemming from antagonism between the opposing social systems. Nonetheless, as is known, the opposing systems did not hinder the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition during the war from maintaining close interallied relations and from combat cooperation which resulted in the decisions of the Crimean and Potsdam conferences. The experience of the 1970s, on its part, was for European peoples convincing proof that constructive cooperation among states with different social systems was not only possible, but also necessary. Detente is always natural, and the more so in the nuclear age, while confrontation is a dangerous anomaly whose effects for the security of every country in the world as a whole, under the present conditions, are unpredictable. We are reminded of this again and again by the impetuous development and complications of the present-day world, by the leaps in the development of military technology and by the creation of newer and more incalculable means of devastation. There are no other prospects for living side by side. And since this is so, it is better to live not in an atmosphere of hostility and fear, but in peace, observing certain humane norms in mutual relations. For this reason, it is advisable to have a look at the past: There were not only bad, but also good things in it. The lessons of the past remind us of the vital need to go back to the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam, to the Helsinki decisions and to the policy of detente. What we need now more than ever is a new, realistic way of thinking, concrete constructive deeds in the field of disarmament, particularly nuclear, and the return of world affairs to the channel of detente.

The decades that have passed confirmed the viability of the Yalta and Potsdam ideas which were further developed in the Helsinki Final Act and in the rich practice of international cooperation in the 1970s. These ideas live today in the consciousness of the millions of people striving for peace and stability in Europe.

Notwithstanding all the attempts made by militarist circles to bury detente, its achievements exist not only in the memory of peoples, but also in the daily reality of the European continent. The political and legal bases of detente, fixed by treaties, as well as its material fruits are so ponderable that one can say with confidence: this line has been deeply rooted in world politics, it is supported by powerful forces and it has every chance of continuing to be a leading trend in interstate relations in the 1980s and in the longer term.

In particular, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe is continuing. At this conference, the Soviet Union comes out firmly in favor of reaching agreements on both political, international-legal, and military-technical measures, mutually supplementing each other, to strengthen confidence and security in Europe. These agreements should be built on the basis of equal rights, balance, reciprocity and equal respect for the interests of the security of all participating states and should help abate the threat of war and reduce military confrontation.

The positive results of the Madrid meeting of representatives of states participating in the general European conference in Helsinki, and the convocation of this meeting by the mandate of the Stockholm conference were significant achievements in pursuing the line aimed at dialogue and mutual understanding and at settling problems at the conference table. These events have proved that the policy of detente had a sound reserve of vital strength. They were evidence that, notwithstanding all the differences in politics and in evaluating the causes of the present state of international affairs, and notwithstanding the present-tense situation in Europe and all over the world, states with different social systems can and should reach mutually acceptable agreements, can and should cooperate closely and fruitfully.

There is no alternative to the Yalta-Potsdam-Helsinki line. In the present complicated and dangerous situation, it promotes normalization in international relations, promotes normalization much needed by the peoples. The firm position of the USSR and other socialist countries resolutely fighting against any attempt to undermine the basis of European security is a guarantee of its viability and effective strength. The USSR and other socialist countries come out for radically lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe, for cooperation among states in the interests of peace and security and for a return to detente. This is an obligation for all countries of the continent stemming from the Yalta and Potsdam decisions. This is an obligation stemming from the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

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## AN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL MEETING

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[Article by B. Likhachev: "An Important International Meeting"]

[Text] At the beginning of December 1984, representatives of 91 parties, including 82 communist and workers and nine revolutionary democratic parties, held a meeting in Prague. According to the information statement on the meeting's results, they discussed the work of their collective organ, the theoretical and information journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, made their observations and proposals to its international collective, and wished it to constantly work in the spirit of equality, cooperation and respect for the interests of each individual party, contributing to spreading and asserting the ideals of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism and to the consolidation of cohesion and solidarity of all progressive forces.

The December 1984 meeting, the seventh of its kind, was the largest and most representative in the entire 20-year history of the journal. Satisfaction was expressed over the regularity of these meetings. This very regularity and the work rhythm of Prague meetings testify to the fact that the communists are carefully and sensitively listening to the pulse of world events and consider it necessary to have a comradely exchange of views in connection with the work of the journal that is simultaneously a special kind of a mirror of activities of the communist movement and one of its important and directly international parts.

Concentrating their attention on the substantive complex of problems and methods of work of the journal, these meetings made it possible to demonstrate the collective opinion of communists in two fundamental and closely interconnected spheres: these spheres are, first, the key issues of world politics and, second, the concrete problems of the struggle of communists for national interests of their own countries, for the vital interests of the working people and for socialist ideals.

The combination of the international content of the issues discussed, the international scale of actions dictated by them and the international approach to issues are characteristic for Prague meetings.

It must be added to this that the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory occupy a considerable place in these meetings. This attention to these problems shows that any approach adapted to some current situation or plain pragmatism is alien to communists, even when it is a matter of particularly urgent tasks that demand energetic and practical actions.

These general features that are characteristic for the Prague meetings as a whole inevitably have the imprint of the situation--both on the international scene and in the communist movement itself--in which they are held. It is precisely for this reason that it was not by accident that the seventh Prague meeting was the largest and the most representative in the journal's entire history. The situation in which it was held was clearly and capaciously characterized in the speech of B. N. Ponomarev, head of the CPSU delegation, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

This meeting, he pointed out, is taking place against the background of a year of anxiety for Europe and, indeed, for the entire world; a year during which the real threat of nuclear war has considerably increased as a result of the placement [razmeshcheniye] of "Euromissiles" and other aggressive actions of NATO but, at the same time, also a year during which the forces working against this threat have been strengthened and have grown and during which the antiwar protest has grown to an unusually great extent.

The responsibility of the period in which the Prague conference was held was also conditioned in many respects by the effect of the changes taking place in the social shape of the planet. These changes include an increasingly firmer assertion of the position of world socialism, the historical achievements of which are becoming the property of all mankind and which open up the prospects for the future of mankind; a continuing deepening of the general crisis of capitalism; an exacerbation of its class contradictions; an increasingly bitter political struggle in many countries of capitalism; and a steady growth of the force of the nonaligned states that oppose the policy of confrontation and intervention pursued by imperialism.

It is in accordance with all this that the conditions of activity of the communist and revolutionary democratic parties are changing and that the tasks solved by them are becoming more difficult in many respects.

What is the answer to this challenge of the period which the authoritative representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of peoples of the world gave through their delegations to the Prague meeting?

This answer is essentially clear to everyone who is not deliberately turning away from everything that is taking place in the world: it is to prevent war and eliminate the threat of war, to protect mankind against the nuclear folly and to preserve peace and the peaceful future of people. In the contemporary world this is the greatest and the most responsible task.

The communists know that the roads leading to the solution of this task are complicated and difficult. "...The problems of war and peace," K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has said: "just like, after all, all other global problems, do not exist on their own. They



are inseparable from the world's social contradictions and from the development of the class struggle." Having assumed an unprecedented significance and sharpness, the struggle for the preservation of peace has not turned into something isolated and separated from all the questions that have always been and continue to be a part of activity of the communists and, furthermore, it has not abolished or replaced them. On the contrary, it has turned into their generalized expression and immediate and absolute priority.

As V. Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, noted in his speech at the Prague conference, "the class struggle is reflected in a concentrated form in the sphere of international relations." At the same time, the preservation of peace is precisely the task that is set before every individual detachment of the communist movement without exception. It is thus a common and internationally uniting task of communists, a task that also demands of them an ability to engage in coordinated and united actions with all other anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces.

The communists do not allow themselves even to think that a goal such as the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the salvation of human civilization will not be achieved. But they clearly realize what strenuous and multifaceted efforts this goal will require.

The struggle for peace is, first and foremost, to clearly know where the threat to peace originates and, on the other hand, also to clearly see precisely who and what forces oppose and are capable of opposing this threat. 'A persistent explanation of the causes of the growing danger of war assumes a decisive importance for the orientation and further strengthening and successes of peace-loving forces...', K. H. Schroeder, member of the Presidium and executive secretary of the German Communist Party, said. "For, whoever wants peace must know who threatens it."

The participants at the Prague meeting were fully justified in emphasizing that the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA has made and continues to make a worthy contribution to the analysis of the questions of war and peace. In the 3 years since the sixth Prague meeting, the journal has comprehensively substantiated and concretized those appraisals of the world situation which the communists made at the time, and the course of world events has proven that these appraisals were correct, thorough and foresighted.

It must be noted that the idea of a special and extraordinary responsibility of the period that had started in world politics and of the rise of a new situation in the world arena that is essentially different from the situation of the 1970s, the period of international detente, was expressed with full force precisely then. What was discussed was the serious threat to the cause of peace and the fate of peoples which is posed by the aggressive militarist course of the United States and NATO and the entire global strategy of imperialism that essentially represents an attempt at "social revanche" and forceful revision of the correlation of forces in the world, a strategy that is subordinated to the goal of increasing international tension by means of the arms race, total anti-Sovietism and suppression of all democratic and liberation movements.

But even then, in the sharply deteriorated situation at the beginning of the 1980s, the communists saw and showed the potential of the forces opposing imperialism, and those objective profound factors that determine the prospects of the struggle against the danger of war created by imperialism. These forces and factors are, first and foremost, the authority and might of the world socialism that has been able to undermine the main foundations of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, the military-strategic superiority; they are the indissolubly interconnected dynamism of the socialist society and activeness of its peace-loving foreign policy. They are further the anti-war movement, unprecedented in its scope and energy, and especially those enormous opportunities that are inherent in its unification with the movement of the workers class and with all currents of the anticapitalist social protest. The forces opposing imperialism and war also include the anti-imperialist and antiwar potential of the national liberation movement and the entire vast zone of developing countries. The internal contradictory nature of imperialism and the entire complex of the contradictions that are tearing it apart and especially the conflicts engendered by the activity of the most aggressive militarist circles also represent an objective reserve force of an antiwar nature.

Confronting the antagonistic forces in the world arena, the communists resolutely rejected the demobilizing attitudes of pessimism and gloom and continued to express the conviction that the policy of aggression and the arms race could be defeated.

Now there is no longer any doubt that these appraisals were correct and correct not only at the time when they were made; their effectiveness has been maintained to this day, and they were incorporated into the analysis and conclusions of the December 1984 Prague conference. Of course, in the speeches of its participants these appraisals appeared in combination with a consideration for the experience accumulated in these tense years filled with events and were further enriched with new facts and more profound understanding of the real course and prospects of the struggle that is taking place in the world.

The new thing that the Prague meeting provided in this field is connected with two basic elements. These elements are, first, the exposure and appraisal of the trends and facts that today characterize the picture of antagonism on the world scene, and primarily in relation to the questions of war and peace. And the second element is the search for more concrete and effective ways and forms of counteraction against the danger of war and of mobilization of the multifaceted efforts of multimillion-strong masses.

The Prague discussion produced an analysis of the contemporary world situation which is profoundly realistic and balanced and free of all simplifications or extremes. This essentially unanimous appraisal reflected the true dialectic of the intensification of the threat of war and of the growing counteraction against it which are interconnected and have taken place simultaneously in recent years.

Neither Washington nor the aggressive NATO bloc headed by it have renounced their antipeople plans and adventurist methods of implementing them. The alarming evidence of this fact is not only the universally known provocations of American imperialism against Nicaragua, which have evoked the protest of the broadest masses, but also its entire tactic of imposing its diktat and of interference in the liberation struggle of peoples everywhere in the world, in Central America and the Caribbean Basin, in southern Africa and the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, on the Korean peninsula and on the central Asian continent. The United States and NATO maintain to a full extent the scale and rates of their material preparation for war and strive to add to it the plans and arms programs of the type of the infamous "Rogers plan" which are calculated for "limited" theaters and forms of military actions that are in fact equal to a nuclear war; they are taking new steps along the road of providing strategic arms for the FRG; and are doing many, many other things.

The lessons of recent years have not been in vain for the world. "The striving of the United States to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union has turned out to be a vain endeavor," said D. Sarlis, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. "Of course, any complacency in this respect would be an enormous mistake because the American aggressive policy is essentially unchanged. Nevertheless, we have become convinced once again that the struggle for peace is not fruitless and that the results of this struggle can become even more evident and lead to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the universally recognized norms of international life."

Results of the struggle for peace; the attainability and the realistic and tangible nature of the prospects for a return to detente; and finally the urgent need that mankind feels for it--these conclusions are not wishful thinking but a substantiated result of the consideration and analysis of the facts that were cited in the speeches at the meeting.

There is an obvious and characteristic testimony to this which is just now at the center of attention of the world public: the Soviet initiative for new negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the entire complex of nuclear and space weapons. The delegations of the parties represented at the Prague conference rightly considered this initiative as a proof of the fact that the constructive peace-loving initiative in world politics as a whole continues to be in the hands of socialism. They perceived it as a new opportunity to ensure real changes in the recovery of international situation, and as a new call and impulse for developing mass antiwar actions the effective support of which is capable of turning into fact the potential that is inherent in that initiative.

The participants of the meeting unambiguously expressed their understanding of the main force that opposes the aggressive aspirations of imperialism. "The resolute and consistently peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community is the main factor staving off the threat of nuclear war." This idea stated by J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, most concisely expresses the essence of what was said about world socialism as the bulwark of all forces acting against war.



In the situation of the 1980s, exacerbated to the extreme through the fault of imperialism, socialism has provided new incontrovertible evidence of its deepest devotion to peace and, what is the main thing, its determination and ability to wage the struggle for international security. "Being the main force opposing the United States, the Soviet Union represents on a worldwide scale, the mightiest factor of the struggle for detente and disarmament," said E. Scharf, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party. "This means in practice that the USSR is compelled to make enormous spiritual and material efforts to stop Washington's dangerous course that is fraught with danger of war." These truly heroic efforts of the Soviet people were appraised in a worthy manner by participants at the Prague meeting. The historical significance--as R. Urbany, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, characterized it--for the cause of peace and for curbing the imperialist aggressors, of the approximate military-strategic equilibrium achieved by the socialist countries in relation to imperialism, as well as the complete substantiation and necessity of the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to maintain this equilibrium and not to allow imperialism to achieve superiority, were again and again forcefully emphasized in this context. "We consider completely justified the actions of the socialist countries that are taking measures to counter an intensifying direct threat to them and, at the same time, are advancing important diplomatic initiatives for serious negotiations on the preservation of peace," said C. A. Ingles, representative of the Communist Party of Portugal. An essentially important fact in this connection--noted in particular by F. Barakat, representative of the Yemen Socialist Party--is that the "peaceful initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries have won the support and approval of the international community."

This shows that the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, which bear the main weight of counteractions against the imperialist policies, are not alone in their struggle for international security; this indicates understanding and recognition of the fact that the countries of socialism are expressing the fundamental interests of mankind in the sphere of world politics and are basing their actions in this connection on a number of weighty objective and subjective factors.

The evolution of these factors has led to noticeable and noteworthy changes. The mass antiwar movement has undoubtedly influenced the behavior of NATO governments. Contrary to their calculations and efforts, the deployment of American "Euromissiles" has not undermined the antiwar movement and has not forced it to become reconciled to the very fact of a continuing arms race. On the contrary, the antiwar movement has found the strength in itself to further grow both in breadth and in depth. It includes representatives of an increasingly broad social, political, ideological and professional spectrum of people. The activity and role of organizations of the workers class within the movement are increasing. The antiwar demands themselves are becoming more multifaceted and more politically exacting, new forms of struggle are becoming effective, and the level of international interaction of various detachments of the antiwar movement has significantly increased. And what is perhaps the most important thing for the future, the participants in the antiwar movement



are more and more confident that their efforts and sacrifices are not in vain and that they might lead to real and tangible changes to the advantage of peace and international security.

Allotting one of the central places in its work to contemporary problems and prospects of the antiwar movement, the Prague conference also did not bypass the difficulties and even dangers which the movement is encountering.

The imperialist propaganda strives to thrust upon it not only the obvious lie about the "Soviet military threat" but also some other false stock claims without even being embarrassed in this connection over the fact that at times these claims simply contradict one another. Here there is the thesis of the United States' "devotion to peace" and its aspiration to disarmament and, at the same time, there is also the clumsy attempt to prove that the increase in the American military power allegedly serves the cause of peace; there is the idea that is crudely and primitively calculated for the opinion of the man in the street but nevertheless tenacious, and, at the same time, there is an attempt to discredit the peace-loving public of the socialist countries because it supports the policy of its governments, that is, the governments that follow a policy of peace and security. And it is on this ideological basis that the efforts are made to split the antiwar movement and to separate from each other the activities of antiwar organizations in the socialist and nonsocialist countries as well as within the capitalist countries themselves.

The national liberation movement has made no less significant progress as an antiwar force in the 1980s. Precisely the beginning of the 1980s was the time when the broad national liberation forces actively and consciously joined the struggle against war and military threat. The countries and peoples of that zone [of national liberation movements] became a direct target of the American tactics of "provoking crises," that is, of creating and fanning military conflicts and direct imperialist interventions. The fire chain of these explosive "hot points" has stretched through continents from Central America to Southeast Asia. The heroism and selflessness with which the peoples of these countries strive for and defend their freedom represent an invaluable contribution not only to the struggle against imperialism in general but also against its aggressive policy against the imperialist militarism. For, even if arms have to be taken up in this connection, this is, primarily a struggle for a peaceful future of their peoples, for the very opportunity for these peoples to be able to solve their problems under peaceful conditions.

Many delegates of the communist and of the revolutionary democratic parties spoke in Prague about the link between the struggle for peace and the national liberation struggle. What attracts attention in this respect is the maturity of the appraisals and the "realization of responsibility for the cause of peace" which, according to the definition by the delegate of the Communist Party of Sudan, represents the "essence of the position of the revolutionary parties that are active in the zone of the national liberation movement." And again, what was discussed were not only the future tasks and the need to save these countries and regions from becoming bridgeheads of imperialist aggression but also what has been achieved, that is, real results. These results are evident in the fact that the national liberation struggle, both as a form of armed rebuff to imperialism and its tyrannical henchmen as well as

in the entire multifaceted nature of its political, economic and ideological manifestations, has erected and constantly continues to erect a serious barrier on the path of the imperialist diktat and aggression.

Considering the entire aggregate of the causes compelling imperialism today to resort to some or other maneuvers and make corrections to its policy of bitter confrontation, the participants of the Prague conference also did not fail to devote their attention to the changes that are taking place in the arrangement of forces in the imperialist camp itself, in the states included in that camp. Herein also lies one of the reasons why the "gap between the goals of imperialism and its possibilities for achieving them has now turned out to be wider than ever before," as H. Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, formulated this conclusion.

The line of disagreements and, on some questions, of open and sharp contradictions runs primarily between the United States and Western Europe. "As a result of its geographical position and economic interests, Western Europe is deeply interested in the preservation of stable international relations, detente and cooperation between East and West," M. Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, pointed out. In fact, the "Atlantic" disagreements have surfaced both in connection with the frankly aggressive actions of the United States, for instance, against Grenada and Nicaragua, and in connection with the U.S. global military plans, including primarily the militarization of outer space.

The antimissile and antiwar initiatives of the parties belonging to the Socialist International and the adoption of antinuclear positions by many of these parties, including the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany and the Labor Party of Great Britain, represented an important watershed in the West's policy on the questions of war and peace. The fact that the antiwar feelings counterbalancing the actions of the governments of a majority of NATO countries have found their expression in a number of demands and decisions of respective parliaments is connected to this in many respects.

The shameless militarist and hegemonist actions are provoking an increasingly deeper stratification, as the delegate of the Communist Party of the United States convincingly demonstrated, not only in the broad public opinion in the United States itself but also among the ruling class and its political "establishment" [preceding word in English] within which a process of formation of an alternative to the administration's military and foreign policy is taking place and making itself known.

Carefully taking into account and weighing all component correlations and arrangements of forces in the world, the communists nevertheless attach primary significance to revealing the main and dominant trend in world events. It was pointed out in Prague on more than one occasion and in different formulations that the revolutionary movement, the movement for political, social, economic and national liberation, determines the substances of our era; that this appraisal continues to be in effect and should never be disregarded; and that the change of the correlation of forces to the advantage of peace and socialism represents the main trend in world politics despite the intensifying counteractions of imperialism. I. Noerlund, delegate of the

Communist Party of Denmark, stated this accurately. Socialism has turned into a decisive social force on a worldwide scale and this fact more than anything else, he pointed out, creates the possibility for preventing the realization of imperialism's destructive plans.

The communists, through their representatives who met in Prague, discussed the contemporary tasks of political struggle within a broad historical context and with a deep understanding of the nature of the processes taking place in the world. Kuka Kampo [name as transliterated], representative of the Congo Labor Party, spoke about this expressively and vividly: "Being forced to leave the arena of history, the ruling class regards its own downfall as the downfall of society and of the entire civilization. The most zealous ideologues of that class, the ideologues who have lapsed into mysticism, present the downfall of their own social order as the end of the world, as a cosmic catastrophe." This is why, he concluded, the insidious plans of imperialism must be opposed by the unflinching will of peoples for peace.

During its entire history the communist movement has stood as the standard bearer and vanguard and as the most resolute force in the struggle against war and the threat of war.

The Prague meeting discussed with a high sense of responsibility the ways in which the communists understand their duty in this struggle today. According to a Sudanese communist, the degree of realization of this responsibility is the "criterion of the seriousness of the attitude of every communist party toward our movement, toward our common goals; there can be no room for any wavering here."

The fulfillment of this humanist mission demands a cohesion of communist ranks. There is every ground to say that the Prague meeting marked a step forward in understanding the necessity of such an integrative unity cemented by the task of preservation of peace.

And this conclusion is not canceled out by the fact that a position different from the positions determined by the basic contents and orientation of the Prague discussion also found its expression there. The delegation of the Communist Party of Japan expressed its disagreement with the work of the journal in relation to the questions of war and peace and once again, just as at the last meeting 3 years ago, demanded a termination of its publication. This viewpoint was resolutely rejected by other participants of the meeting.

In fact, precisely the international cohesion and solidarity appear to multiply the forces of each individual revolutionary detachment and its ability for independent actions and invest its struggle with the qualitatively new scope and significance, irrespective of whether the parties concerned are the so-called small or large ones. As far as the CPSU is concerned, it has always expressed in words and deeds its deepest gratitude for the international support of the communist movement and of all fighters for freedom and has invariably stressed its principled importance. Representatives of many other parties and especially the envoys of the peoples who are waging armed struggle against imperialism and its henchmen and against



the terrorist regimes in their own countries, such as El Salvador, Palestine, Angola and others, spoke about this in Prague for equally strong reasons.

The documents of the Prague meeting are literally replete with living and concrete examples of effective internationalism manifesting itself in the most diverse situations and forms. A Syrian communist spoke about the spreading mass campaign in his country against the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe. The delegate of the Communist Party of Great Britain stressed at the very beginning of his statement the importance of the wide support of the international workers movement for the striking British miners. "This," he said, "is an outstanding example of internationalism that represents the vital force of our movement." The communist parties of Iran and Iraq made a joint statement against the Iranian-Iraqi war. The Middle East, Greek and Cypriot communist parties met to discuss their urgent problems. The delegates of Austria and the FRG spoke on the struggle of communists for the vital interests of foreign workers and, in this connection, on the unity of the workers class.

It is completely understandable that the participants at the Prague meeting could not pass over in silence the essentially different positions in relation to the gravest calamity, the drought, that has befallen the people of revolutionary Ethiopia. Imperialism shamelessly tries to exploit this human tragedy for counterrevolutionary purposes. But it was not only the delegate of the youthful Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, formed in September 1984, who spoke against these evil attempts, expressing his confidence in victory over the drought and in successful construction of a new society in his country with the support of such allies and friends as the USSR and the socialist community.

The representatives of Morocco, Tunisia and several other countries rightly perceived this as a problem of enormous international dimensions, the problem of hunger as a "devil's weapon" in the hands of imperialism and aimed against the peoples of many liberated countries.

Thus, the problems of internationalism of communists occupied a major place at the meeting. As K. U. Chernenko has written, the "international conditions are assuming a determining and primary significance from the viewpoint of international interests of the communist movement."

In this connection and considering the role of real socialism in the contemporary world in the prevention of the world war, the attitude toward real socialism has been and continues to be a question of principle for the communists. It was not only the community of the ultimate goals of the communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries and the fact that imperialism is their common enemy that were discussed at the conference. The idea that it is vitally important for the communists working in the capitalist countries to constantly follow the experience and practice of the construction of socialism was expressed with full force at the meeting. For it is precisely now that the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism, finding themselves at different stages of socialist development, are carrying out transformations of a truly revolutionary nature by enriching the social practice with the qualitatively new solutions of the problems facing all of



mankind, the solutions that are in accord with the interests of the working people. It is characteristic that representatives of the fraternal parties of socialist and nonsocialist countries alike spoke about a deepened elaboration of the theory of the party, of party construction, and party leadership of the masses in the course of socialist transformations and stressed the international significance of this elaboration. One really cannot remain indifferent in view of the fact that the delegate of Honduras listed the successes of socialist countries in the sphere of physical and mental development of children among the topics that deserve to be elucidated by the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA!

Therefore, what is involved in this connection is the need to fully demonstrate both the potential that is inherent in socialism and the concrete ways and forms of its effect on the world development, that is, to demonstrate the foundation on which is based the international solidarity of communist and all liberation forces with world socialism.

The participants at the meeting demonstrated that, despite the bourgeois propaganda's expatiations about a "crisis of internationalism" in the communist movement and despite certain doubts on this account among the movement's own ranks, the communists of the world are united through a wide and multifarious network of contacts that are multifaceted by their scope, forms and content, by bilateral and regional ties, by international theoretical forums, by cooperation in the press and so forth.

But the matter is not limited only to this. The vast, but far from fully realized potential of, so to speak, actual internationalism exists and constantly makes itself felt within the communist movement, a potential based on the community of its ultimate aims, on a spiritual, theoretical, ideological-political and social community, and on the vital necessity of struggling for the same aims. And this community affects all levels without exception--from the general world level, at which the fate of mankind is decided in the struggle between the forces of war and peace, to the so-called local level, where international solidarity, for example, with the struggling peoples of "little" countries is required just as constantly and is no less clearly manifest.

This was impressively discussed at the conference by the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba. In addition to the aforementioned cases, another "local" example, which nevertheless serves as classic material in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the national problem, is Ireland. "The Irish workers class and the British workers class have a common enemy--British imperialism," said the secretary general of the Communist Party of Ireland, J. Stewart. "That is why, in addition to the struggle of the Irish people, it is essential to develop a mass movement within the ranks of progressive forces in Great Britain that will struggle for the cessation of interference in Ireland's affairs."

The greater and richer this potential of internationalism and the firmer the objective basis of communist unity, the more keenly communists feel the necessity to reveal and fully realize this potential and, first and foremost, to find the most immediate ways of giving it effective, practical forms so

that in decisive issues of world politics, and primarily in the struggle against the threat of war, communists should speak with one voice and implement joint actions. In this connection, the opinion was once again voiced in Prague that a world meeting of revolutionary parties on the problems of war and peace could serve as one of these forms.

And special attention was drawn to one more point in the course of the Prague discussion. We refer to the fact that, while struggling to strengthen their unity on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis, communists by no means isolate, and certainly do not set themselves against, unity of actions across the broadest democratic spectrum. "We, communists," said M. Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, "must be active partners of every detachment of peace-loving forces in the struggle to prevent a nuclear apocalypse. Adherence to the class principle does not exclude cooperation in the name of peace with progressive, democratic forces, with social-democratic parties and figures and so forth." On the contrary, communist cohesion is the most consistent and reliable element in various kinds of alliances of progressive, democratic forces, be it in the antiwar movement or in broad patriotic fronts which have formed in the zone of struggle for national liberation. "If the unity of communists, social democrats, socialists and other forces is necessary in the struggle for peace, then the unity of communists in the revolutionary movement is even more essential," A. Fandis, representative of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, said in conclusion to the discussion of these problems.

The December meeting in Prague was an important event in the life of the communist movement also because it clearly showed the connection between the struggle for peace and new phenomena in the class struggle, the problems of which require intensified study and elucidation also on the pages of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA.

From the materials of the Prague discussion one can single out at least two ranges of problems which require thorough, creative study. These are: first, changes in the structure and conditions of life of the workers class in developed capitalist countries which are taking place under the influence of crisis processes in the capitalist economy (including in the sphere of the world economy) and in the course of the scientific-technological revolution. Second, trends and prospects of development in the workers movement, and primarily elucidation of the causes of the disparity between its vast potential in social and antiwar struggle and the degree to which this potential is in fact realized. Participants in the meeting noted that, in addition to the objective factors rooted in the features of the economic development of capitalism at its present stage, an active role is played here by the policy of social regression, so-called neoconservatism, pursued by the ruling classes.

Ideological pressure of colossal strength corresponds to this policy and accompanies it, as does the imperialist bourgeoisie's increased use of the mechanism of manipulating social awareness, this mechanism having developed on an unprecedented scale. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of these problems in the contemporary class struggle. The ideological apparatus is one of the mainstays of capital's power.

Particularly difficult problems face the forces of the national-liberation movement. The central problem--and it is basically of a generalizing nature--is that of overcoming backwardness and gaining genuine economic and political independence. Resolving this problem is hampered primarily by increased resistance on the part of imperialism, which has launched an onslaught against the forces of national liberation--from "informational imperialism" to state terrorism, including, of course, every neocolonialist lever in the economic sphere. In many ways the problem is also made more complex by the fact that in the developing countries themselves, and in the Third World in general, an intensified process of social-class differentiation is in progress, as a result of which the traditional arrangement of political forces is sharply shifting (this was discussed in the greatest detail by the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, P. Keuneman). Serious difficulties are caused in these countries by the heightened activeness of national separatist and religious trends leading to the flaring up of internal wars which seem to draw the "armed presence" of imperialism into these areas.

Against this background the successes of the national-liberation movement at its contemporary stage appear all the more significant: the progress of countries of socialist orientation, the fresh upsurge in the anti-imperialist struggle and the communist movement in Latin America, and the consolidation of revolutionary and democratic forces in a number of countries following a capitalist path. Research into the whole of this vast and dynamic sphere of international class struggle is one of the main tasks for Marxist-Leninists, it was stated at the Prague meeting.

It is totally natural that a great deal of attention at this meeting was paid to the necessity of resolutely counteracting and repelling imperialist ideological aggression. The communist press is called upon to play a vanguard role in this sphere. Communist parties' theoretical activities and prompt, precise Marxist-Leninist analysis are not partitioned off from the practical problems of ideological work and struggle. Together they comprise an inalienable element, ever increasing in significance, of antiwar and anti-imperialist activities and of all communist revolutionary work.

The Prague meeting itself was living, convincing evidence of this. Convened for a concrete reason--to discuss the work of the journal--it was a major political event in the life of the communist movement. It stimulated and revealed the main ways of intensifying the ideological-theoretical work of the journal and directly helped to develop international ties. Of course, great is the merit of the international collective of the journal itself, which has proved its ability to worthily represent our movement and to do this on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis and by the thoroughly democratic methods characteristic of communists. The Prague meeting has made us confident that the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA will also henceforth successfully fulfill its informational, theoretical, political-propagandist and agitation function in the spirit of collective cooperation and communist cohesion.

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## STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85) pp 100-113

[Article by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]. Article based on a report submitted at the ceremonious session of the NDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee, the DRA Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the NDPA]

[Text] Our party, all true patriots of our country and our friends abroad are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

In the course of 2 decades, from scattered and small circles and groups, our party developed into a revolutionary party of a new type, rallying within its ranks tens of thousands of the best representatives of the working people.

Despite persecutions by the anti-people's regimes and the intrigues of domestic and foreign reaction, and surmounting difficulties and contradictions in its own development, the party strengthened and matured in the course of a harsh struggle. It confidently developed into a truly revolutionary force worthy of being the political leader of the people's masses and able to lead them.

The great April revolution, which turned a new page in the history of our fatherland, was made under the leadership of the NDPA. The revolutionary renovation of ancient Afghanistan was initiated, and its advance from backwardness to progress is steadily gathering strength.

Today, as we sum up the main, the decisive result of decades of development, struggle and toil, we can proudly say that the NDPA was able to withstand its harsh trials; its revolutionary ideas proved their justice; it is worthily fulfilling its historical mission and will never deviate from its chosen path.



The NDPA Is a Party of Revolutionary Struggle for Social Progress and Spokesman for the Basic Interests of the Working People

The founding of the NDPA was the legitimate result of sociopolitical developments. Its creation was preceded by the lengthy struggle waged by the progressive members of the Afghan public for the democratization of the country, ensuring and strengthening national independence and promoting its progress. The development of this struggle had its specific features.

Because of the semicolonial past of our country and the domination of the reactionary feudal-monarchic regime, for a long time the development of its production forces and production relations and, consequently, its sociopolitical development were relatively obstructed. Nevertheless, the inevitable socioeconomic changes related to the objective process of production development and the appearance of new economic relations occurred. A capitalist structure and a working class appeared, although on a limited scale and a narrow base. The social differentiation of the peasantry took place and the process of gradual erosion of tribal and patriarchal relations began. Whereas looking from the outside it may have seemed that Afghanistan had remained some kind of island of backwardness and stagnation in a tempestuously changing world, such was not the case.

Progressive social thinking and the aspiration for national freedom in our country, as in many countries throughout the world, gained a powerful impetus thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Afghan democratic movement reached a new stage after World War II, thanks to the victory of the Soviet Union and the other members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition over German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The forces of renewal, which had long been ripening within Afghan society, took the shape of political movements and groups, which were a new democratic opposition to feudal-bourgeois rule. These leftist forces were heterogeneous from the ideological and class viewpoints. They were still distant from the popular masses. However, they led to a new attitude toward reality among the progressive intelligentsia, including the military, and the conscientious working people, thus contributing to the weakening of the despotic reactionary monarchic regime and creating prerequisites for future changes in Afghanistan's historical path.

Many of the leaders and participants in the democratic movement were already familiar with the progressive theory and aware of the fact that the country's turn from backwardness to progress was possible through revolution. Awareness of the need to create a party which could rally progressive forces and head their struggle for the establishment of a new just social system increased and strengthened in the developing revolutionary circles.

The birth of such a party--the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan--took place on 11th Jaddi 1343 (1 January 1965). On that day the NDPA clandestinely held its first congress in Kabul, attended by 27 delegates. The general programmatic and organizational principles were approved at the constituent congress and a central committee was elected. It consisted of seven members: comrades N. M. Taraki, NDPA Central Committee general secretary; B. Karmal,

NDPA Central Committee secretary; S. A. Keshtmand, S. M. Zeray, G. D. Pandzhsheri, M. T. Badakhshi, later executed by firing squad on Amin's orders, and Sh. Shakhpar, who died in the hands of the counterrevolutionaries.

The NDPA immediately proved itself a party of revolutionary thought and action. It was the only one among all Afghan political forces and groups to realize that at that historical stage a national democratic, antifeudal and anti-imperialist revolution alone could offer the country the real possibility of eliminating the feudal-bureaucratic system and ensuring true social and national progress. This was entered in the first NDPA program which was published in the newspaper HALQ. The program stipulated the overthrow of the anti-people's exploiting system, the seizure of political power and the conversion of the country to noncapitalist development as the main tasks. The building of socialism in Afghanistan was proclaimed the end objective of the NDPA program.

Our party has never abandoned nor will it abandon its programmatic objective. It will steadily work to attain it, without skipping the necessary phases of historical development or hastening events without, however, slowing down progress. As we know, the party's current strategy and tactics are presented in the "NDPA Action Program," which was adopted at the March 1982 national party conference. The main thing for us today is systematically, undeviatingly and fully to resolve the problems of the national democratic revolution. The successful solution of these problems is a necessary prerequisite for attaining our long-term objective.

The establishment of the NDPA marked the advent of a new stage in the struggle for the revolutionary renovation of the fatherland. The parliamentary and extraparlimentary, propagandist and organizational activities of the party opened the eyes of the masses to the anti-people's nature of exploiting regimes and awakened and strengthened among the masses an understanding of the need for revolutionary change. The newspapers HALQ and PARHAM, the NDPA Central Committee organs, became the voices of truth. The strikes and demonstrations organized by the party expressed the readiness of people's progressive forces to act. Party work among the progressive segment of the military contributed to the involvement of the armed forces in the revolutionary process. By that time the exploitative Daud regime had totally lost any kind of extensive social support, and the old ruling method had confirmed its bankruptcy once and for all. Social development inevitably led Afghanistan to a national democratic revolution, which was made under NDPA leadership!

By becoming a ruling party, our party assumed tremendous historical responsibility for the fate of the revolution, the people and the fatherland. It is precisely the NDPA which is the leader and organizer of the socioeconomic changes needed by the people, and their defense from the armed counterrevolution and the aggression of imperialism and regional reaction.

Through their own experience the working people and the broad popular masses are becoming convinced with every passing day that the NDPA can worthily assume this responsibility. That is precisely why the best representatives of

the workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals, all national patriotic forces, trust the party and link their activities to its fate.

The NDPA today is a steadily expanding and ever more popular party. At the time of the April revolution it had 18,000 members. Over the past 6.5 years, despite all difficulties and losses, it has increased to 120,000 members and candidate members. We note proudly that these difficulties, threats and terrorism created by the enemy did not interrupt the party's quantitative and qualitative growth. During the year 1362 (the Afghan New Year begins on 21 March; in this case, from 21 March 1983 to 20 March 1984--the editor) some 32,000 people joined us, thus nearly doubling the number of party members on the eve of the revolution. This convincingly proves the high reputation enjoyed by the party among the people.

The number of worker, peasant and artisan members of the NDPA is growing steadily and consistently. Today they account for 30 percent of the membership. Over the past 2-3 years, the share of working people among the new party members has exceeded 50 percent in most provincial party organizations. This is an accurate confirmation of the closeness of the party to the working people and the fact that it accurately expresses their basic interests.

Equally important is the fact that the party rallies members of more than 20 ethnic and national groups in the country. They are jointly struggling for the solution of common problems. The multinational composition of our party is one of the manifestations of its national policy and an expression of the fact that it truly represents and defends the interests of the working people of all ethnic groups and nationalities in our common and united fatherland.

The NDPA is a party operating on a national scale. It created and is developing the type of organizational structure which will ensure its comprehensive influence. The party organizations have been created and are active in all provinces, cities, most districts and provinces, labor collectives, military units and many villages. Their number is increasing steadily. They are continually gaining experience in organizational and mass political work and their reputation is growing steadily and tangibly. All of this enhances the party's leading role in society and the state and strengthens and broadens its ties with the masses.

The NDPA is celebrating its 20th anniversary under conditions of a fierce class and anti-imperialist struggle. To withstand and win in this undeclared war declared on us is the most important party and nationwide task. Our party is a fighting party; 60 percent of its membership is currently in the ranks of the armed forces. The party members are the backbone of the detachments and groups for the defense of the revolution and local self-defense, combining work with preserving order and security in the local areas. Risking their lives, they carry out their lofty party duty and through their heroism and firmness they set for the people a noble example of how to serve the cause of the party and the revolution, proving to the people through their example the justice of this cause and the inevitability of victory.



The road covered by our party in 20 years has been hard. In the course of its establishment and development it faced a number of major objective and subjective difficulties and obstacles. Overall backwardness and undeveloped socioeconomic relations adversely affected the party itself. It was weak in many respects. Its social structure was limited essentially to the intelligentsia. The level of the class-political awareness of the party members and their Marxist-Leninist training were low.

The party's semiclandestine position hindered the development of its organizational structure and the broadening of its ties with the masses. Group, clan and tribal interests had a strong influence in party circles. Let us also not forget that the ruling circles and imperialist special services introduced their agents into the party in order to undermine its unity and functionality.

All of this affected the state of the party during the revolutionary period and contributed to divisions in party ranks. At that time we lacked the necessary maturity and awareness of party unity, which alone could have prevented such divisions.

Such unsurmounted shortcomings were fully evident during the first stage of the revolution as well. Many of our errors stem precisely from this fact. The situation was worsened by the conscious criminal activities of Kh. Amin, encouraged and directed by the foreign and domestic bourgeoisie. The actions of Amin's clique worsened the political and economic difficulties which had developed in the country. They narrowed the social base of the revolution and not only created the real threat of the loss of the people's faith in the party but also threatened the country's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, the party was able to withstand the harsh trials and its healthy forces, which restored and strengthened party unity, turned the revolution back in the right direction.

We openly speak of the difficult times and errors of our past, for we wish more than anything else to avoid their recurrence. The great Lenin pointed out that "the attitude of a political party toward its errors is one of the most important and most accurate criteria of the maturity of the party and its practical implementation of obligations to its class and the toiling masses. The open acknowledgment of errors, the exposure of the reasons for them and the study of the situation which created them and profound discussion of the means to correct errors are the features of a serious party which is fulfilling its obligations; this means the organizing and training of the class and, subsequently, the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, pp 40-41).

We drew the necessary lessons from the bitter past. Our experience confirms that the party wins when it is united and suffers setbacks and failures when it is disunited.

Today the party is more united than ever before. However, our main task remains that of achieving organic unity within it and its consolidation. During these anniversary days we call upon all organizations and party members critically to analyze their work and to assume specific obligations for the



practical implementation of our tasks, and to rally even more closely around the NDPA Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo. To us the struggle for unity is not a short-term campaign but a permanent intensive work by all party committees, organizations and members.

#### The NDPA at the Head of Revolutionary Changes and Their Defense

The April Revolution was made for the sake of actually changing the life of the people for the better. It is precisely this which defines the policies of the party and the revolutionary system. What is their essence? Briefly, it is as follows.

##### In the political area:

To strengthen and expand the revolutionary power, to perfect our new political system, to develop its democratic principles by enhancing the role and contribution of mass public organizations, holding elections for the power bodies and ensuring the direct participation of the working people in their work through the National Fatherland Front;

To achieve the true equality and comprehensive development of all ethnic groups, nationalities and tribes in Afghanistan, their active participation in building and defending the new life and to ensure their unity;

Firmly to follow the proclaimed principles of relations between the revolutionary system and the sacred and respected religion of Islam and the religious feelings and traditions of the people, and to create the necessary conditions for the free observance of religious ceremonies and requirements of the believers.

##### In the economic and social areas:

Gradually and steadily to surmount Afghanistan's economic backwardness;

To implement systematically and in full a democratic land and water reform, thus ensuring the equitable allocation of land and water;

To develop all economic structures and sectors and to expand industrial and agricultural production, transportation and other economic sectors, with the accelerated priority growth of the state sector;

Systematically and steadily to eliminate population illiteracy, to improve the system of universal public education and upbringing, comprehensively to assist in the development of our national languages and cultures and thus gradually to accomplish a cultural revolution in the country;

To improve, within the limits of existing possibilities, the well-being of the people and to improve the working people's living conditions, health care and medical services.

We have been unable as yet to implement such plans in full. As yet the working people, the people at large, have not experienced everything which the

revolution and the power it created are bringing to them. However, the main reason for this should not be sought in the heavy burden of the numerous problems we inherited from the previous regimes or the errors we made.

The main and basic reason for our difficulties is the obvious and stubborn aspiration of international imperialism and regional reaction to prevent the existence of a new, free and progressive Afghanistan and to strangle our revolution. Hundreds of millions of dollars, pounds sterling and marks are being spent to raise, train and equip counterrevolutionary gangs, to supply them with most modern weapons, including heavy armaments, to engage in unrestrained and false anti-Afghan propaganda and to mislead world public opinion. Every day we find out about new atrocities and crimes committed by counterrevolutionary gangs. They are shedding the blood of innocent people, poisoning wells, burning down schools, hospitals and mosques, destroying irrigation systems, etc. Realizing the hopelessness of their efforts to overthrow the revolutionary system by the force of arms, they are trying to disrupt our country's economic life and to doom the Afghan people to privations and hunger.

The world is still insufficiently aware of the scale which this undeclared war on Afghanistan has assumed. Here are a few examples: the counterrevolutionaries have destroyed 1,814 school buildings, 31 hospitals, 11 health centers, 906 peasant cooperatives, 14,000 kilometers of telephone lines, hundreds of electric power poles, etc. The overall damage inflicted as a result of counterrevolutionary crimes already exceeds 35 billion afghans. However, all efforts of imperialism and reaction to disorganize our economy and wreck progress along our path are failing. All the enemy has achieved is to expose his anti-people's nature entirely.

The main task is to defeat the armed counterrevolution. Everything depends on this. It is only the definitive defeat of the counterrevolution which will enable us fully to carry out our plans and to enable the entire people, every family, to work in peace and live happily.

In order to achieve this, we must upgrade the efficiency of the combat efforts of all branches of the armed forces within the shortest possible time; we must increase coordination and interaction among them; we must strengthen and expand their ties with the people and the local party and state bodies and the formations of defenders of the revolution and territorial self-defense forces. Strengthening our armed forces and their unity with the people will always be in the center of attention of the party and the state.

Our people have always deemed it their supreme duty to defend the fatherland with the force of arms. Today, more than ever, this truth must conquer the minds and hearts of the true sons and daughters of Afghanistan. The party calls upon all patriots to join the ranks of our armed forces, the detachments of the defenders of the revolution and the local self-defense forces in order to deal a crushing rebuff to the counterrevolutionary gangs!

The successful solution of the basic problems at this stage of the revolution, including the struggle against the counterrevolution, demands paying tireless attention to the situation on the economic front. We proceed from the fact

that concern for economic development means concern for the fate of the revolution and its future and broadening its social base. It means also concern for our people.

Our economic achievements remain modest. However, we have the right to mention them for we attained them under difficult conditions.

The steps taken by the party and the DRA government to rebuild enterprises and build new ones, to improve supplies of raw materials and power for them and to ensure their protection from enemy sabotage enabled us to achieve a stable rate in restoring industrial production. Thus, compared with the year 1360 (21 March 1981-20 March 1982--the editor) industrial output in the year 1362 (from 21 March 1983 to 20 March 1984--the editor) increased by 15 percent; output in the state and mixed sectors increased by 24 percent.

We proudly note that the resolutions of the 11th NDPA Central Committee Plenum--reaching the prerevolutionary level of industrial output--were fulfilled successfully. This resolved a problem important both economically and politically. The plans for industrial output and construction are being implemented as a whole this year as well.

The party pays particular attention to the development of the state sector. Under the revolution its share in the national economy increased by 20 percent. It is precisely the state sector which is the basic factor in ensuring the country's stable economic situation.

The NDPA deserves credit for the fact that, for the first time in the history of Afghanistan, it proclaimed a democratic land and water reform. The importance of this reform to the toiling peasantry would be difficult to overestimate, for before the revolution 10,000 families, or less than 1 percent of the total number of landowners, owned 20 percent of the best land in the country. More than 1 million peasant families had little or no land.

We are implementing the land and water reform systematically and steadily, relating its pace and scale to the local situation. Of late the DRA has passed a number of legislative acts which regulate more efficiently land and water relations and reflect better the interests of peasants with no or little land, and medium landowners and the clergy. It is politically important that now the farmers themselves are increasingly and more actively participating in the implementation of the reform through their peasant assistance councils. All of this has enabled us to surmount a certain stagnation in the implementation of the reform.

Thanks to the steps we have taken and the constant attention paid by the local party and state organs, most of the country's irrigation systems are in working condition and new systems are being built. This is of vital importance to the peasants and the overall economy of the country. The party and the revolutionary system will continue to do everything possible and will absolutely succeed in ensuring the equal and just distribution of the land and the water for the good of the peasants and the people at large. The traditions and status of Islam, related to the procedure for the allocation of land and water, will be taken into consideration.



The efforts which are being made are yielding positive results: the prerevolutionary level has been reached in the production of the basic agricultural commodities. Today our country has an adequate supply of food products.

The NDPA and DRA government ascribe great importance to the development of the various forms of collective economic mutual aid and to consumer, procurement-marketing and production cooperatives. A total of 308 agricultural, 138 consumer and artisan cooperatives and 140 cooperative stores have been established. This may not be much, but we are confident that it is merely the beginning of a major promising project.

Let us now address ourselves to social matters. Here again no peaceful conditions exist and the excesses of the counterrevolution are creating major difficulties for us. Nevertheless, the revolutionary system is doing everything possible to improve the life of the people.

Thus, in recent years wages of workers and employees in the state sector have been raised twice. The state is heavily subsidizing the fixed level of prices of prime necessity goods and public transportation. Purchase prices for cotton and sugar beets were raised twice and prices of mineral fertilizers have been lowered.

Extensive efforts have been made to eliminate population illiteracy. Courses and circles for the elimination of illiteracy were completed by more than 1 million people and more than 400,000 people are attending them currently. Over the past 5 years the annual publication of newspapers has increased by a factor of 2.8 and the number of daily radio and television programs has more than doubled. Let us emphasize that today the voice of our mass information media can be heard in the languages of many ethnic groups and nationalities in Afghanistan. Considerable attention is being paid to improving health care. Over the past 5 years the number of hospital beds has increased by 84 percent and that of physicians by 45 percent.

The party and the revolutionary system will continue persistently to seek new possibilities of improving the life of the people and resolving the urgent problems of our country's economic, social and cultural progress.

The further development of the democratic principles of sociopolitical life assume great importance in this connection.

Essentially, our system, as stipulated in the "Fundamental Principles of the DRA," rests on the alliance between workers and peasants and expresses the basic interests of all working people and all Afghan patriots. The very existence of this system and the gradual broadening of its social base are the most important accomplishments of the victorious revolution and the reliable foundation for its further development.

Today we are taking the necessary steps to ensure the more extensive involvement of the toiling masses, in the local areas above all, to participate in state management. A law on the local power bodies and



management of the DRA was passed. The people's representatives of the Jirgi (councils--the editor) of provinces, districts, regions and villages will be elected democratically, above all as candidates of the National Patriotic Front, which rallies all mass public organizations in the country and all national patriotic forces. The jirgi of people's representatives and their executive committees will become the new authorities and managements in the local areas. They will consist of patriots of all nations, ethnic groups and tribes. This will substantially expand and intensify their participation in the common cause of strengthening our united fatherland.

The mass social organizations are playing an increasing role in the extensive and ever-growing involvement of the working people in active participation in the country's life. These are the most important elements of the new political system, the leading power in which and main source, one could say the generator of all progressive changes in the political, economic and social life, is the NDPA. It is precisely the leading role of the party which ensures the integral and correct development of our political system.

Trade unions and cooperatives were created and are systematically developing in the country. The Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women and the creative alliances and councils of ulemas (Muslim theologians--the editor) and the clergy were created and are systematically developing in the country. The power of these organizations is growing and their influence on social life is increasing steadily. All of them are members of the National Patriotic Front, which unites all patriotic forces.

All in all, this also is a specific manifestation of the party's course toward the development of a true democracy under the conditions of a national democratic revolution.

Naturally, we cannot be satisfied with our achievements. We would not be true revolutionaries had we considered the 20th anniversary of our party merely an occasion for an anniversary celebration.

Let us once again turn to the great Lenin who, 4 years after the Soviet system had been established, wrote: "The best way to celebrate the anniversary of the Great Revolution is to draw attention on its unresolved problems. Such a celebration of the revolution is particularly pertinent and necessary when basic problems as yet unresolved by the revolution remain..." (op. cit., vol 44, p 221).

These words also serve as general advice to our party. Unresolved basic problems remain in our country and we should mention them now. The entire party, all patriots must know and realize the direction in which the main efforts must be channeled in order to achieve more and to advance the revolution further and defend it reliably.

Above all, as we pointed out, we must complete the routing of the armed counterrevolution. We do not conceal our concern with the existing situation and do not intend to tolerate it. We have not as yet resolved the problem of

combining our war efforts with the natural aspiration of the people for a peaceful life and their ever-growing resistance to the counterrevolution.

This is related to the struggle of the masses for their more extensive and energetic participation in the development and defense of the revolution. In what direction should our efforts be focused?

We must disseminate among the people the truth of the noble objectives of our party and system and make them understand these objectives. We must convince the doubters and those who oscillate. We must prove through our daily actions that the party is defending the interests of the people and is acting for the sake of their good. We must help the simple people to become aware of their own strength and involve them in direct participation in revolutionary changes and their defense.

Furthermore, we have as yet been unable to organize our work in a truly revolutionary fashion. This applies to both the state bodies and the party. We are short of exigency, responsibility and discipline. A gap remains between words and actions and between decision and execution. Yes, when we acceded to power we lacked adequate experience in managing governmental affairs. Yet our revolution will soon be 7 years old! Today we must more persistently master the skills, ability and art of state management. The level of our work must be consistent with the lofty objectives and responsible assignments raised by the revolution.

Finally, the further strengthening and development of the NDPA itself provides a key to the solution of all problems. It must become even more widespread. It must be a true model of organization and discipline. The party members must enhance their ideological-political standards, Marxist-Leninist training, political convictions and maturity. The party must act in all realms of political, economic and social life more energetically and efficiently.

#### The NDPA--A Party of Peace and International Solidarity

Our party fights for lasting peace the world over by virtue of its nature, ideology and high constructive objectives. The NDPA has been faithful to this course ever since its founding. Let me recall that in its 1966 program, the NDPA proclaimed as its foreign policy principle the struggle for strengthening peace the world over, preventing a new world war and peaceful coexistence.

After it became ruling, our party proved its loyalty to this principle in fact. We have done and are doing everything possible to strengthen and safeguard peace. That is precisely why the NDPA and the DRA government firmly support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, aimed at strengthening universal peace and the security of the nations. We highly value and fully approve of the positive peaceful initiatives of our great friend Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and of the heads of the other socialist countries, and are making our own contribution to the noble cause of safeguarding peace the world over and in the area.

The coincidence between our positions with those held by the USSR on basic international problems of our time is natural and legitimate. It is based on the history and nature of Afghan-Soviet relations. Relations between our country and the USSR and between our parties, governments and peoples are relations of fraternity, all-round reciprocal understanding and cooperation. Such relations are constructive in nature, character and results. The stable and good neighborly atmosphere prevailing on our borders, constant and mutually profitable trade and development of comprehensive relations have helped both of our nations to resolve their problems.

Afghanistan has always tried to be a peaceable and reliable neighbor and sincere friend of the USSR. Free and independent Afghanistan was the first to recognize the young Soviet republic. Before World War II, when the USSR was in a state of hostile capitalist encirclement, Afghanistan rejected all efforts to turn it into a link in the chain of anti-Soviet regimes created by imperialism. Between 1930 and 1933 the Afghan government took steps to block incursions on USSR territory of Basmach gangs from Afghan territory. This friendly step favorably influenced the further development of Afghan-Soviet relations. Afghan-Soviet friendship became our firm national principle based on the will of the Afghan people, and there is no power in the world which could destroy it.

In describing the nature of Afghan-Soviet relations, the following should be emphasized.

First. The Soviet Union has always given Afghanistan assistance and aid in what was most important to our people: strengthening its national independence and integrity. Such assistance and aid have been provided steadily for the past 65 years, i.e., for the entire period of existence of our intergovernmental relations. Political conditions have never been dictated to our country. No political concessions have ever been demanded or even the slightest interference taken place in the internal affairs of our country. We know that the Soviet Union sincerely aspires for Afghanistan to be always independent, free and prosperous and our people happy, and for the border between our countries always to be a border of friendship and brotherhood, not dividing but bringing our peoples closer to each other.

Second. The Soviet Union has always helped us to resolve not individual but precisely basic problems of our economic development. Its assistance and aid are strengthening the economic independence of our country on the basis of the reorganization of backward economic and social structures and the building of our own material and technical base, guaranteeing our further progress. Actually, the foundations of the contemporary energy, ore-mining, metal-processing, chemical, light, construction and automotive vehicle repair industries were laid with Soviet help; an international airport was built as well as all main highways, including the high mountain track through Salang, and many others. A total of 99 projects of Afghan-Soviet cooperation are operating in the DAR, accounting for some 60 percent of overall Afghan industrial output.

The fact that the process of creating a national working class engaged in modern production has been accelerated in the course of Afghan-Soviet



cooperation is also of exceptional importance. Over the past 30 years 75,000 skilled workers have been trained at Afghan-Soviet cooperated projects.

Soviet assistance is helping our people to eliminate the consequences of the damage caused by the armed counterrevolution. The enemy would like to deprive industry of electric power, the transportation system of fuel and the population of bread and fuel. Here as well USSR aid is invaluable. The Soviet Union is supplying Afghanistan free of charge with large amounts of food, clothing, shoes, other goods needed by the population, chemical fertilizers, cotton seed, etc.

We are currently engaged in laying the "roads of light"--heavy-duty power transmission cables from the USSR--which are of vital importance to us. Possibilities are being considered of building other projects, the most important of which will be the first railroad in Afghanistan. A number of textile, light and food industry enterprises will be built in the immediate future.

Third. The Soviet Union has given us invaluable aid in the development of culture, science and education and the establishment of our national intelligentsia. This is particularly important for our country, in which more than 80 percent of the population was illiterate before the revolution. Thousands of Afghan engineers, technicians, physicians, teachers, and men of culture and the arts were trained in Soviet schools. The Kabul Polytechnical Institute, Automotive Engineering Technicum and the technicum in Mazar-Sharif were created with Soviet help. The NDPA Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences has become a recognized center for the training of party and state cadres. Hundreds of Soviet teachers help Afghan boys and girls to acquire the necessary knowledge so that they may work for the good of the revolution and the beloved fatherland.

Finally, we speak with a feeling of particular gratitude and thanks of the unparalleled international aid which the Soviet Union is giving us in these most difficult days. The heroic sons of the Soviet Union have come here to help the people of Afghanistan to defend the country's independence and integrity and the April revolution.

Imperialist propaganda is shrieking throughout the world about the "Soviet occupation of Afghanistan." We are telling the entire world that the Soviet brothers responded to our appeal for help and are providing it without sparing their lives. Honor and glory to them! Embedded forever in the memory of the grateful Afghans will be the exploits of the troops of the Soviet limited contingent, those true internationalists and loyal sons of their people, always ready to lend a helping hand to those who are fighting for their independence.

We note gratefully and with satisfaction the valuable contribution to the establishment of the new Afghanistan and support of the April revolution of the members of the socialist community. The NDPA, the DRA government and the people of Afghanistan ascribe exceptional importance to the further expansion and intensification of fraternal relations with the ruling parties, governments and peoples of these countries.



Our party and government are deeply concerned with the present drastic worsening of the international situation, the responsibility for which is above all that of the United States. The course of creating tension and an atmosphere of military psychosis pursued by the American administration and its increased arms race, with a view to dictating to the world its will from a position of strength, clash with the basic interests of the peoples and increase the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war. The concentration of U.S. military power in Europe, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and the Far East, from the Horn of Africa to Southern Asia, and in Central America, the worsening of the Lebanese crisis and the strengthening of Israel and the Pretoria regime are all links of a single chain. Imperialism is trying to change the situation in the world arena in its favor by military force and to stop the progress of freedom-loving peoples toward national and social liberation.

As a reaction to all this, the forces of resistance to the imperialist policy of intensifying international tension and fanning military conflicts are growing and strengthening the world over.

The party, the DRA government and our entire people cannot remain aside of the struggle for peace and life on earth. That is why we are concerned with the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe and express our solidarity with the struggle waged by the European peoples for the restoration of detente on that continent.

We shall steadily support the struggle for a just and democratic solution of the Middle Eastern problem. The lasting and general settlement of the Middle Eastern problem should be based on meeting the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to the creation of their own state, the full, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, and the consideration and securing of the legitimate rights and interests of all countries in the area.

Our approach to the problems of East and Southeast Asia remains unchanged. We express our full solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in their struggle for building a new society and against the interference of imperialist and hegemonistic forces in their internal affairs. We consider as constructive the initiatives of the three Indochinese countries on making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, good-neighborly relations and cooperation. We are in favor of supporting the efforts and initiatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, aimed at the peaceful unification of the country.

The NDPA and the DRA government are concerned with the aggravation of the situation in Central America. We condemn the intervention in Grenada, the support of the antipeople's reactionary forces in El Salvador, the hostile actions and preparations for intervention in Nicaragua and the threats addressed to Cuba. All such U.S. actions are clear violations of the fundamental principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. We reassert our revolutionary solidarity with and support of the people of Nicaragua, who are fighting heroically, like the people of Afghanistan, against imperialist aggression.

Mention should be made of the situation in the Indian Ocean and in our area. The growing imperialist military presence here, both direct and indirect, is a threat to peace and the free development of all peoples in the area.

From the viewpoint of international law, the inflation of the "Afghan problem" by imperialism and related reactionary states means interfering in the internal affairs of the DRA and a direct violation of Afghanistan's rights as an independent country and member of the United Nations. The DRA is free to establish relations with any country. It may turn to any country it wishes in order to defend its independence and has the right independently to choose its system and way of social development. Currently, more than 100 bases and camps for training hired killers have been established in Pakistan with the help of U.S. imperialism and Chinese hegemonism; every month thousands of them are sent into our country. The press and the other mass information media of the Western countries themselves and countries allied to them, including Pakistan and Iran, have confirmed our declarations to the effect that Afghanistan has become a target of imperialist interference and aggression.

We have repeatedly stated that the limited military contingent which the Soviet Union sent to our country on the basis of the legitimate DRA request and with a view to preventing aggression and armed interference from the outside will not remain permanently in Afghanistan. These peace-loving forces will return to their homeland by agreement with the Afghan side and with the cessation of armed interference from the outside and the existence of guarantees of its nonresumption.

New information is reaching us virtually every day on military deliveries to Pakistan by the Reagan administration, the Beijing leadership and a number of reactionary regimes. Against whom will this military power be directed? Why is it that the Reagan administration is gathering its military might in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and Pakistan's military machinery within a single fist?

The answer is clear. Here, in the heart of Asia, imperialism and regional reaction would like to establish their center of influence and power. They would like to suppress our revolution and are setting their aims at the Persian Gulf. By striking at India, which is friendly to us, and through outside pressure and domestic interference, they will try to change its position in their favor. They would like to set up the bridgehead they need for operations hostile to the Soviet Union as well.

Naturally, under such circumstances we are taking all the necessary steps to defend the independence and integrity of the fatherland. However, this is no threat whatsoever to neighboring countries. We are not aspiring to gain military superiority over anyone in the area but only reliably to defend our right to peace, progress and freedom. Our objective is peace and good neighborly relations in our area.

Our party and DRA government are reasserting all of their previous initiatives on settling disputes and unresolved problems in relations with Pakistan and Iran. We give a positive assessment to the talks with Pakistan, conducted

through the mediation of D. Cordoves, personal representative of the UN secretary general. The NDPA and the government have adopted a constructive approach to the problem of reaching a political settlement of the situation involving the DRA as quickly as possible.

We emphasize, in this connection, that the accords concluded between the DRA and Pakistan and Iran on normalizing relations and noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs, supported by reliable international guarantees, and the return of the refugees would create the necessary prerequisites for resolving the problem of the further stay of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the DRA. The strict observance of said agreements by the parties and their full interrelated implementation would make a true political settlement of all aspects of the problem possible. A most important step in this direction would be to hold direct talks between the DRA, on the one hand, and Pakistan and Iran, on the other, which should be prepared through the talks in Geneva.

We are convinced that should Pakistan and Iran show a sincere desire to reach a settlement and to put an end to the pressure exerted on Pakistan from the outside, which is preventing such a settlement and is inconsistent with the national interests of the Pakistani people, the next round of the Geneva talks could yield specific results. It is a question, in particular, of reaching separate agreements which would be the essence of a settlement and which could bring about a solution of the overall problem. As to the DRA, it has not been nor will it be short of good will and a constructive approach to a political settlement of the external aspects of the problem.

As far as Afghanistan is concerned, there is no problem which could not be resolved in a just and democratic way with a political solution. Should this prove to be impossible today, together with our friends we shall patiently and persistently work on achieving such solutions tomorrow.

The people of Afghanistan and the party and the government highly value the role played by India in world affairs. They ascribe the greatest possible importance to strengthening and further intensifying traditional Afghan-Indian relations of friendship and cooperation for the good of our peoples and for the sake of peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world. We welcome the efforts of the present Indian government to continue the course set by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, aimed at preserving the independence and unity of the country and resolving the vital problems of its socioeconomic development.

In its efforts to make use of all opportunities to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples, the DRA will continue actively to participate in the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and to maintain relations of friendship, cooperation and fraternity with the peoples of the Islamic countries.

We intend comprehensively to contribute to the peaceful and democratic solution of current international problems within the framework of the United Nations and will support all of its efforts in this direction.

We have confidence in Afghanistan's stability and solid position in the world arena. We are convinced of the unbreakable firmness of internationalist relations between Afghanistan and the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries and the progressive regimes, parties and movements in all continents. Today the DRA is recognized by 80 countries throughout the world. The NDPA is maintaining relations with 103 fraternal communist, worker and revolutionary democratic parties and progressive movements and organizations, and has regular and comprehensive relations with 52 of them. We are exceptionally grateful to all of our foreign fellow workers and friends for their international solidarity with our party and revolution, support of our anti-imperialist struggle and dissemination of the truth about revolutionary Afghanistan.

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## FUNDAMENTAL STUDY OF THE THEORY OF THE HISTORICAL OF PROCESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Jan 85) pp 114-117

[Review by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof B. Bogdanov of the book "Marksistsko-Leninskaya Teoriya Istoricheskogo Protsessa" [The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Historical Process]. Editorial Collegium: Academician F. V. Konstantinov (head of authors' collective) and Dr of Philosophical Sciences Yu. K. Pletnikov (responsible editor); editorial collegium members: doctors of philosophical sciences L. P. Buyeva, V. V. Denisov, Yu. Ye. Yeremin and A. K. Uledov. Volume 1. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 463 pp; Volume 2, Moscow, 1983, 535 pp]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress directed the social sciences toward attaining a new and significantly higher level of ideological and theoretical work in the social sciences and firmly facing the problems raised by reality. These demands were confirmed and concretized in the resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The party documents convincingly reveal the significance of work on fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in terms of the theoretical interpretation and practical solution of the most important task at the present stage: perfecting developed socialism.

Writing fundamental works on the theory of dialectics is one of the most topical problems in philosophy. Soviet scientists are actively working in this area. The publication of the two-volume work under review, prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy Department of Topical Problems of Historical Materialism, is a major step forward in the solution of this problem. The work has already triggered extensive interest by the novel way in which a number of problems have been formulated and the systematizing of the categories of historical materialism. The first volume was already discussed in KOMMUNIST (No 10, 1983) as a work the publication of which has been a substantial contribution to the theory of historical materialism in recent years. The journal noted the positive features of this work and expressed critical remarks and wishes for the benefit of the authors.

The readers will be able to gain a better idea of the authors' intentions and level of their implementation with the publication of the second volume. The merits of both can be judged by comparing them with previously written works in this area. The elaboration and systematization of Marxist doctrinal

concepts on problems of the dialectics of social development dealt with its individual aspects, and an overall picture was provided primarily in textbooks, i.e., in addition to everything else, they were subordinated to educational requirements. This resulted in the development of a certain gap between specialized monograph studies and scientific articles, on the one hand, and the generalized systematizing of the philosophical theory of the historical process, on the other. Its overall picture was usually presented in accordance with a traditionally established system, and the inclusion of new topics and problems frequently took place by their subsequent addition and was not always logically substantiated.

Meanwhile, however, requirements concerning works on historical materialism (including training publications), based on practical experience in socialist building and the social sciences, drastically increased in recent years. The party's decisions direct the scientists to study new phenomena in social life. Naturally, it is not a question of their empirical description but, precisely, of a profound theoretical interpretation from the positions held by the Marxist-Leninist science of society. All of this presumes not only refining, concretizing and perfecting cognitive means of historical materialism and its categories but also the development of an integral philosophical theory of the historical process in accordance with the current status of the science and the requirements of social practice. Therefore, today we must consider not simply the systematizing of results but reaching a new quality in the study of the dialectics of social development.

It is entirely obvious that the simple systematizing of philosophical concepts of society is insufficient. For example, numerous discussions on the meaning of one concept of historical materialism or another, some of which fundamental, clearly revealed the limitations of studies conducted outside the integral scientific system. Therefore, discussions relative to the basic starting principles, leading categories and problems, occasionally acquired a scholastic aspect. This circumstance, however, neither can nor should suppress the real significance of the scientific problem itself, on the solution of which both Soviet and foreign Marxists are working.

The work under review is precisely such a study. It is an essential step toward developing and concretizing topical problems of historical materialism.

It is entirely obvious that the definitive nature of any serious scientific work is determined above all by the fact that it does not consist of a collection of articles, albeit very knowledgeably written, but of the sum of a study of one area of knowledge or another, linked within a single concept. The editors and authors of the work under review set themselves a rather difficult task: to provide a systematic presentation of Marxist philosophical theory of the historical process in its integral aspect and in accordance with the level and requirements of contemporary science and practice. The step forward which this represents, compared with the level reached in our science, is that the authors do not simply substantiate the need for such a system but make practical use of the system they have elaborated in the course of their comprehensive interpretation of the main problems of the dialectical-materialistic theory of social development. They thus offer convincing proof of the practical productivity of their selected method. In addition to the

already developed categories, the authors of the volumes under review introduce new categories which have been used in works on philosophy either insufficiently or not at all.

One of the purposes in this work is to avoid the shortcomings inherent in many efforts to systematize the ideas and categories of historical materialism. The authors consider as an essential error in such systematizing the fact that so far Lenin's requirement concerning scientific categories, which must be "derived" rather than "described" and "proved" rather than "asserted" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 86) has been insufficiently honored. In other words, the author deemed it their task not simply to postulate the principles of the materialistic understanding of history but to develop them as the result of the dynamics of knowledge from general and abstract categories to a specific and full theory of the historical process. They have taken as a model for the elaboration of such theory the methodological principles of the dialectical system followed by Marx in "Das Kapital," above all his formulation of the need to define the basic structure of the research topic--its "cell"--and the category which indicates the specific content of this "cell." The work under review points out that the starting point in the ascension from the abstract to the concrete in elaborating the theory of historical materialism could be only a concept which reflects social life throughout its historical stages and, at the same time, allows us to emphasize the specific nature of the historical process, unlike that of processes in nature. According to the authors, such category could be the category of activities, in which the "cell" of social life does not apply to any kind of activity but only to the one which is represented in its materialized results. By this token, the principle itself of a material presentation would be included in the initial category, although in its undeveloped abstract-general aspect. The further concretizing and "development" of this initial given, or the progress from the abstract concept of "activity" to the increasingly full, specific and rich categories, would enable us to present in a systematized manner the dialectical-materialistic theory of social development.

It is exceptionally important to note at this point yet another merit of this work, not to be ignored when we discuss relatively fundamental concepts of the theory of the historical process. It is a question of giving priority to Marx's noteworthy "active aspect" of materialism, discussed in his "Theses on Feuerbach," and subsequently developed in his materialistic theory of society, political economy and theory of the need for a socialist revolution and the ways of building a communist society.

Let us bear in mind that this "active side" of the new materialism, its revolutionary humanism and the dialectics of the subject and the object in social development were not understood, as it were, by the theoreticians of the Second International, as manifested in their interpretation of the laws of social development being a kind of "inflexible," "undeviating" and "natural" course of processes in which the role of the person was exclusively that of a performer, the bearer of this "supreme necessity." The determination stemming from the object was exaggerated while the determination coming from the subject--the person, the party and the class, who could substantially change the nature and trend of the social process through their constructive and



purposeful activities, was shunted aside. The dialectics of the subjective and the objective in the historical process, inherent in Marx's and Engels's theory and the revolutionary humanism of this theory, largely lost in the socioreformist concepts of the theoreticians of the Second International, were restored by Leninism alone. The victory of the socialist revolution and the subsequent building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries was the practical embodiment of this theory.

The dialectics of the objective and the subjective in social development, revolutionary humanism and the active aspect of Marxist materialism are frequently considered by some authors as unrelated rather than in a state of organic and inseparable unity and oneness, which are the wealth of this great revolutionary doctrine of the working class. The merit of the work under review is that this quality of the Marxist philosophical doctrine of society has been given priority as the main organizing axis in the systematizing and study of all main problems, principles and categories of historical materialism.

The authors prove that Marxism exposed the groundlessness of the idealistic interpretations of this "active" side: and put an end to the loose and undifferentiated approaches to the "activity" category inherent in pre-Marxian theories. By identifying the fundamental primary role of material-production activities in social development, Marxism pointed the way to the study of its complex structure and to defining the organic subordination of its types and forms. Throughout their work, section after action, the authors present to the readers the wealth of content of the fundamental thought expressed by Marx and Engels to the effect that "history is nothing other than the activities of the person in pursuit of his objectives" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 102).

It is in accordance with this program that human activities are considered as a means of existence and development of historical reality and that a very clear and streamlined logic of historical research is developed as a natural and objective natural-historical process. The activities of man, as a social being, are analyzed through the concepts of activeness, labor, and social relations, and are summed up in the Marxist category of practice. The latter is developed further in the categories of material production which, in the final account, leads to the identification of the dialectics of the primary and secondary factors in the historical process--social life and social consciousness.

The same method of ascension from general abstract categories to rich and expanded definitions has been applied in the study of theory in the second volume, the first section of which analyzes the problem of the integrity of the historical process; the second deals with the dialectics of this unity and variety; the third, with the change of systems, and the fourth with the transition from the prehistory to the history of human society.

While emphasizing the fruitfulness and scientific substantiation of the general concept of this work concerning the theory of dialectics of social development and its successful actual implementation, a few remarks would be in order.



To begin with, we believe, it would be expedient to describe in greater detail in the introduction to such a voluminous and meaningful work the world conceptual functions of historical materialism and the importance of resolving the basic problem of philosophy and the dialectical-materialistic solution of the problem of the correlation between social consciousness and social life as the leading methodological principle governing the consideration of all problems and categories of Marxist social philosophy without exception. These ideas are organically promoted in all chapters and sections and are especially discussed in the concluding chapter of the first volume, so that, based on the preceding presentation, the problem can be presented more completely. However, it seems to us that, properly shaped, the same ideas could find their place in the introductory section as well.

Throughout the entire work the authors invariably rely on Lenin's ideas. They prove the truly invaluable contribution which Lenin made to the development of the topic under study. The inclusion of a special section in the book on Lenin's struggle for the restoration of the "active side" of Marx's materialism, largely lost to the theoreticians of the Second International, would have been of great use in the struggle against contemporary bourgeois and revisionist distortions of Leninism. It was thanks to Lenin's philosophical works and the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism that the international communist movement gained a real understanding of the Marxist theory of the dialectics of the subjective and the objective in social development.

The authors number more than 40 scientists. The chapters and various concepts in the work have been substantially discussed at conferences and meetings. Therefore, this work is the result of collective thinking, largely reflecting its current level. A great deal of work has been done to systematize previous scientific accomplishments. Controversial and unresolved problems are not circumvented but thoroughly discussed. This makes it possible to determine the developing process of intensification of scientific knowledge of society and to experience the growing requirements of science and practice concerning historical materialism. That is why this work enables us to acquire an idea of the situation regarding most of the problems it discusses. Occasionally, however, viewpoints dealing with strictly secondary matters are interpreted in unnecessary detail, although they could have been totally ignored with no adverse consequences, particularly in the case of "opinions" which, as we know, abound. An opinion, Hegel said, is something which is mine without it being the truth.

In conclusion, we can only welcome the treatment of the topic of war and peace in the work, which is ignored, for mysterious reasons, in many book on historical materialism. However, the authors have not paid the necessary attention to Lenin's essentially important formulation of the question of the inseparable link between imperialism and militarism and between capitalist economy and politics. Lenin's contributor to the interpretation of the profound contradictions within imperialism should have been discussed more extensively. Lenin was among the first Marxists not only to point out the threat which financial bosses created for mankind, but to call for taking urgent action against them. The study of the foundations of Lenin's

revolutionary strategy and tactics would have provided the authors a great deal of data in interpreting the "active side" which is the focal point of their work.

The reader will find in the work a study of the content and role of categories the development of which, within the framework of historical materialism, is barely beginning, such as, for example, spiritual production, spontaneity and planning and others. This not only broadens the range of categories used in science but helps to interpret more specifically the methodological role of familiar fundamental concepts and, on this basis, the essence of the historical process itself. In the study of such concepts as well the authors have been able to find new approaches and to enrich their content in accordance with contemporary data and requirements. Indicative in this respect are the chapters on progress and the dialectics of production forces and production relations. The practically topical problem of the sources and motive forces of social development has been explained in detail. The chapters on the universal principles of human activities substantiate the meaningful interpretation of the concepts of need and interest. The viewpoint presented in this chapter includes the positive aspects expressed in the course of numerous discussions on problems of needs and interests and are also a major advance in the theoretical interpretation of such categories. The same could be said of the study of the "social" category, on the subject of which a great variety of definitions may be found in our publications. In this work said category is considered not as a "substitute" for other concepts or as a repeat of their content but as one having its own definition and its special methodological significance. We read with great interest the chapter on the socioeconomic system, which clearly describes the noncoincidence between the theoretical and the empirical, while substantiating the role of the logical and of theory in the study of empirical reality.

The fact that its main line is the study of contemporary philosophical problems of mankind is an unquestionable merit of this work. The point is not only that it includes a meaningful chapter on society and the individual and sections dealing with the family and the change of generations, but also, as the authors convincingly prove, the fact that the Marxist interpretation of the historical process is, in the final account, a definitive study of the problem of humanism, the determination of the ways leading to human freedom and the assertion of the position of man as maker and creator. Some problems are particularly emphasized in the well-written sections on culture, the nature of social development in the prehistoric stage, the socialist way of life and others.

In our view, the overall structure of the book is adequate. In its reprinting, however (the need for which can already be felt), it would be desirable for the authors to reconsider the logic of the composition of chapters and sections. It is as though sometimes the authors of some chapters "forget" the general methodological principles formulated in the "Introduction," dealing with the category of "activity," and make their presentation without referring to such principles. The reader will find not only a presentation of the history of the historical process, linked through a single concept, but also a convincing interpretation of the highly scientific

significance of the categorial apparatus of the Marxist-Leninist science of society, in terms of knowledge and practical application.

In conclusion, let us note that in terms of the scale of this work and the number of problems studied, the book under review is a new phenomenon in our literature on historical materialism and is an essential contribution to the elaboration of the theory of the dialectics of social development. Both the general readership and the specialists will find in this work a most complete and purposeful presentation of the ideas of historical materialism on a contemporary scientific level.

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## BOOK ON FRG COMMUNISTS

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[Review by A. Polikanov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Germanskaya Kommunisticheskaya Partiya v Bor'be za Mir i Sotsial'nyye Progress" [The German Communist Party in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress] by N. M. Nikulin. Mysl', Moscow, 1983, 239 pp]

[Text] In this book the study of the strategy and tactics of the German Communist Party is presented above all from the viewpoint of its struggle for peace and social progress. The author prefaces the development of this topic with a thorough analysis of the socioeconomic and political problems of the FRG in the 1970s-1980s. This enables him to describe the main trends in the development of the West German labor movement to which the GCP policy is linked naturally and inseparably.

As a whole, according to the author, "we can clearly trace in FRG structure the radical changes related to the social polarization within capitalist society, the increased number and share of hired labor in the active population and the proletarianization of the middle classes" (p 21). Today state-monopoly capitalism is in a state of lengthy and extremely painful crisis phenomena which cannot be efficiently surmounted. On this level the FRG is no exception, despite the specific nature of the manifestation of the general capitalist crisis within it. The weakness of state-monopoly control creates here as well a new situation and offers new opportunities for an upsurge in the struggle for an antimonopoly, democratic and socialist alternative.

The aggravation of the conflict between labor and capital and the increased rapprochement among the interests of all categories of hired labor favor the growth of the class struggle and the dissemination of antimonopoly feelings among the broad population masses. We must bear in mind, in this connection, that the size of the hired labor army in West Germany is quite substantial. In terms of this indicator, the FRG is in a leading position among the countries in capitalist Europe, involving more than 85 percent of the active population. Bourgeois and reformist ideologists' claims notwithstanding, the FRG working class has by no means become "dissolved"; it has not "disappeared" but has increased in absolute and relative terms. Its share in the active



population has exceeded 70 percent, increasing by 10 percent over the past 25 to 30 years. Naturally, like the other social strata in West German society, the working class is experiencing certain qualitative changes, some of them structural. Whatever the bourgeois economists may be saying about the deforming influence of unemployment on the working class, to this day it remains the most populous and powerful social group and a leading force in the antimonopoly struggle, which is becoming increasingly widespread.

However, we should not ignore the fact that as the share of the working class in the economically active FRG population increases, there is also a parallel and particularly fast increase (again in absolute and relative terms) of white-collar workers and government employees. Furthermore, as is typical of other capitalist countries, the West German working class is divided. It is precisely the foreshortening which the authors have chosen in interpreting the activeness of the basic political forces and parties in the FRG, who are struggling for control of the country's labor movement, countered by the communists with their class-oriented Marxist-Leninist policy, stubbornly working, under the difficult conditions of an anticommunist atmosphere, to spread the truth among the toiling masses, to convince them of their justice and to lead them.

The German Communist Party acts as the truly revolutionary vanguard of the working class. It is an alliance of 50,000 fighters for the worker cause, experienced in class battles, like-minded people, according to the programmatic stipulation, "who adopt the Marx-Engels-Lenin theory as the political compass of the GCP and the scientific foundation of its policies." Whatever efforts the enemies of the working class and of socialism may be making to isolate the GCP from the country's population, to present it as a "foreign body" and depict its program and policy as incompatible with the constitution, it is precisely the West German communists who are defending most fully and consistently the basic national interests; it is precisely they who constitute a necessary part of the entire democratic potential of the FRG. The communist party struggles together with the workers for the good of the workers; with the youth for the good of the youth; and with the people for the good of the people (see pp 47-48). The historical task which the West German communists have set themselves includes essential and interrelated components, such as defending the democratic gains and social rights of the toiling people and the struggle for their expansion; achieving a turn in democratic and social progress; and making the FRG a permanent factor of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The key link in this is a turn toward democratic and social progress, which opens the way of development toward socialism. The class content of such a turn is determined by the establishment of an antimonopoly democracy. The study of the theory and practice of the struggle waged by the GCP for precisely such democracy is extensively discussed in the work under review.

In developing the ideological-theoretical and political problems of the antimonopoly movement, the West German communists are reliably supported by the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the determining processes and trends in the socioeconomic, political and ideological realms of life in contemporary bourgeois society and the FRG labor movement. The GCP ideological-theoretical

activities help it to intensify and "sharpen" the concept of antimonopoly democracy, creatively combining revolutionary theory with the practice of the class struggle. This should be emphasized also because the party formulated and is implementing a program and policy of antimonopoly movement, proceeding, as the monograph's author accurately notes, "not on the basis of circumstantial considerations but as a long-term historical task which expresses the specific nature of social progress under FRG conditions" (p 85). It proceeds from the fact that in the growing struggle for radical antimonopoly change the class consciousness will be developed and the political experience of the working people will be enriched, respectively leading to the ripening of subjective prerequisites for the subsequent struggle for socialism (the objective factors are largely visible and their effect is increasing by the very logic of contemporary capitalism). Such a turn of events can be achieved by the people's masses only with the leading role of a truly revolutionary vanguard of the working class, represented by the communist party.

With the use of extensive data, party documents of programmatic significance above all, the author outlines the features of this socialist future for the FRG, a theoretical concept of which has been developed by the West German communists. It will be created by defeating the resistance of the capitalist exploiting minority, the seizure of political power by the working class allied with the other toiling masses, the establishment of public ownership of basic means of production, broadening popular democracy and implementing planning principles in economic practice throughout the country, ensuring the reliable protection of the socialist system from the encroachments of the overthrown exploiters and their possible foreign allies, and implementing a number of other measures stemming from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In this connection, the GCP emphasizes that since socialism is the natural result of historical development, it "presents everywhere common features and laws as expressed by Marx, Engels and Lenin, confirmed through the practice of the October Revolution...and all subsequent socialist changes."

Along with the universal features of socialism, according to the West German communists, the new society in the FRG will be distinguished by a certain originality and a combination of features caused by the national and historical specifics, level of development of production forces and specific circumstances in which the transition to socialism will take place. The GCP has also developed important problems of socialist restructuring, such as the reorganization of the economic structure and the trade unions, the fate of petty and medium-sized enterprises, peasant farms, etc. Here as well the maximal consideration of national traditions and the characteristics of the development of West German society, on the one hand, and the collective experience of the international communist and worker movements, on the other, remain the methodological "constant."

Another merit of the book is that it describes the activities of the GCP in mobilizing the working class and the country's people's masses in the struggle for the vital and end national interests in close connection with the active internationalist positions held by the FRG communists. "As an indivisible part of the global communist movement, the German Communist Party actively

participates in the struggle for the solution of international problems which are given priority by the nature of social developments: lifting the threat of a global thermonuclear war and securing universal peace, uniting the basic revolutionary forces of our time--the world socialist system and the international worker and national liberation movements--strengthening the unity of the communist movement and uniting all revolutionary and democratic forces in the common struggle against imperialism. The GCP structures its activities on the tried principles of proletarian internationalism and a consistent class approach to the evaluation and resolution of the vital problems of our time" (p 162).

The West German communists, who firmly oppose the aggressive plans and dangerous and thoughtless actions of international imperialism, headed by the United States, are directing their struggle above all against FRG imperialism--the main European ally of the United States and the "assault column" of the NATO militaristic bloc. The party tries to consolidate the efforts of the working people of different political persuasions, social-democrats, trade union members and all democratic and peace-loving organizations, groups and movements in the country in order to make the FRG a bridgehead for peace instead of a source of growth of international tension, so that "never again would war originate on German soil." The communists do not limit themselves merely to appeals. They are offering a clearly defined program for the struggle for peace and disarmament. They give their practical support to antiwar initiatives and measures and mount mass campaigns and actions aimed at restraining the instigators of a new global slaughter.

"The struggle against the deployment of the new American nuclear missile first-strike weapons in the FRG and the withdrawal of the already deployed Pershing II missiles was and remains the main task of the West German peace movement. This is the only way to reduce the threat of war. We need new jobs, not missiles. Ensuring a lasting peace in Europe is consistent with the basic interests of the FRG," Herbert Mies, GCP chairman, emphasizes.

The growing actions for peace are helping to energize the anti-imperialist and antimonopoly forces. A great variety of social strata are becoming involved in the antiwar movement and the sociopolitical base of the movement is broadening. Improvements in the international situation stimulate the democratic process and strengthen the position of forces heading the struggle for peace and social progress and opens prospects for the implementation of a policy of mass antimonopoly alliances. It is with full justification, on this basis, that the GCP considers the struggle for peace and for turning the country to democratic and social progress two organically interrelated aspects in the overall united antimonopoly movement.

The party's position toward real socialism is a reflection of the systematic Marxist-Leninist approach taken by the GCP in the interpretation of objective national and international conditions of struggle for antimonopoly democracy and the socialist reorganization of the FRG. In an atmosphere of anticommunist hysteria, enhanced by the right flank of bourgeois society, one slanderous campaign against the theory and practice of scientific socialism and against the members of the socialist community follows another. The imperialist mass information media and their supporters of various hues are



trying to poison the mind of the Western public with prejudices and fear of the phantasmagoric "threat from the East." Under these circumstances, the West German comrades are courageously countering the propaganda pressure of the class enemy, proving and arguing that proletarian solidarity with the USSR, the GDR, the People's Republic of Poland and the other socialist countries provides a vivifying impetus and gives additional strength not only to the worker but to the entire general democratic movement in the capitalist countries, consistent with the true national needs and interests of the working class and its present and potential allies. The GCP calls for making fuller use of the example and achievements of the socialist countries and for firmly struggling against manifestations of anti-Sovietism and actively propagandizing the advantages of the really existing socialist system. Loyal to the revolutionary traditions of the German working class, the FRG communists are inflexibly following Ernst Thalman's behest: the attitude toward the Soviet Union is a criterion of the class-oriented maturity of any communist.

The book ends with a study of the contribution made by the GCP to strengthening unity within the world communist and worker movements, increasing the combat capability of the ranks of fighters for national and social liberation and strengthening the cohesion among all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces on our planet. We can only agree with the author's conclusion that "the party of the West German communists is making everything possible to strengthen the unity within the international communist movement and to fulfill its international duty. It is contributing to the elaboration and implementation of the internationalist strategic course of the struggle against imperialism. It favors a firm alliance with the forces of democracy and socialism and the international worker and national liberation movements (p 217).

Naturally not all parts of this book are of equal value. There is a certain repetitiveness. In our view, greater attention should be paid to the study of GCP propaganda and mass agitation activities, work with youth and the mass contingents of "alternate" movements. Some remarks may be made also as far as the structural organization of the material. For example, the chapter "Strategy of the Antimonopoly Movement" actually discusses not only the strategy but, to an even greater extent, the tactics. Such a presentation is of a declarative nature. As a whole, however, unquestionably the monograph will be of use to those interested in problems of the international communist movement and the struggle for peace and social progress and sociopolitical life in capitalist countries.

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[Text] During the second half of the year KOMMUNIST received 1,100 written communications, including 253 articles, essays, reviews and notes, 143 responses to journal publications, 239 question, suggestions and wishes addressed to the editors and 465 statements, petitions and complaints.

The study of the journal's semiannual mail confirms the increased interest shown by the readers in problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and topical problems of perfecting developed socialism. In the letters and manuscripts submitted for publication, most of them discuss various aspects of problems of domestic and international life considered at CPSU Central Committee plenums, Politburo sessions and addresses by party and government leaders.

The fundamental article "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism. Some Topical Problems of CPSU Theory, Strategy and Tactics," by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, with which the journal's new section, "Toward the 27th Party Congress," opened in Issue No 18 of the journal, and his speech at the session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on drafting the new party program met with a great response in the country and abroad.

The profoundly scientific, dialectical-materialistic substantiation of the characteristics of the contemporary stage in the development of Soviet society and its communist future and the realistic and confident formulation of specific problems of perfecting mature socialism met with lively response and total approval.

"I heard on the radio with profound attention the article by the leader of the party and the state and wanted to comment on the way a working person understands it," is the way veteran railroad man K. Dergauz (Pushkin City) begins his letter. "Everything in it is accurate in terms of place and time!" In his view, the article could also have been titled "The Revolution Goes On." "Yes, we are revolutionaries and we shall struggle for the most cherished dream of the Soviet people--communism. I believe that K. U. Chernenko has

drawn a line separating that which we have accomplished, and accomplished properly, and that which requires further work, which will required even greater and stubborn long years of work by the party and the people. The ideas of the Great October Revolution run throughout the article and everything in it proceeds from the Leninist understanding of the revolutionary process and the further real ways of development discussed."

"I am simply delighted that the article expresses thoughts which fully coincide with what my colleagues and I thought," writes K. Nesterova, head engineer at a Moscow Scientific Research Institute. "Ideological work is one of my great interests and I am deputy head of the political information seminar at the institute. Now we can use this theoretical and political article which will enable us to structure more aggressively and concretely all propaganda work."

V. Vasil'chenko, secretary of a party organization at the Military-Engineering Academy imeni V. V. Kuybyshev, wrote a letter to the editors, the text of which was approved at an extraordinary meeting of party members. It reads as follows: "The need for such an article was urgently felt by everyone. We are attracted not only by the scale, novelty and depth of thought it contains but also the clarity of their presentation. This occurs when such thoughts have been "achieved through suffering," as the saying goes. That is why, this article will unquestionably be not only of scientific and propagandist but tremendous agitation importance. We realize that its content will require profound and comprehensive study. The implementation of the concepts it contains will require immeasurably greater efforts. Nevertheless, the simple reading of the article clearly shows that the thoughts it expresses are entirely consistent with our own thoughts and feelings. They put in our hands an ideological and methodological weapon in the struggle against negative trends and their specific intentional or unwitting carriers in society and the party. We consider the publication of this article on the eve of the forthcoming CPSU congress an event of historical importance."

Yu. Kirillychev, CPSU member since 1957, training foreman at the Donetsk Polytechnical Institute, prefaces his manuscript, in which he discusses molding the social maturity of the man of developed socialism, with a reference to the "quite timely and meaningful definition of the contemporary stage in our country's development, provided by K. U. Chernenko. The author sees in his words "...we have reached a level at which we can and must move forward, oriented toward the highest and most exacting concepts of socialism, developed by scientific theory," "a most profound meaning which truly affects, as the article emphasizes, all realms of life in our society, including ways leading to shaping the personality of the new man, directed toward 'higher concepts of socialism'."

Following is an excerpt from the letter by P. Satin, CPSU member since 1928 and Civil War veteran (Latnaya Village, Voronezh Oblast). "The article by Comrade K. U. Chernenko should become a manual for labor and daily life for every party member and Soviet person. It should be discussed in labor collectives at open party meetings and studied within the party training system...."

The readers suitably rate the full significance of the concepts and conclusions contained in the article, which provide clear answers to many relevant problems which excite the people, problems which were considered debatable or else which had been erroneously interpreted in the past. They recall that there had been many an argument on the time which it will take for Soviet society to enter the stage of developed socialism and the place of the latter in the advance toward communism, in connection with which the tasks facing us today were understood in a variety of ways. That is why, the letters emphasize, the scientifically substantiated conclusion to the effect that developed socialism is a particular, objectively necessary and historically lengthy stage of the first phase of the communist system and that our country is at its beginning, is so important. Consequently, bearing in mind the distant communist future, all efforts and funds must be concentrated on resolving the problem of perfecting developed socialism, which will cover an entire historical epoch.

The letters to the editors note the great constructive charge which is carried by the nature of the realistic approach to political, economic, social and moral-psychological problems and problems of party organizational and ideological work disclosed in the article. It would be difficult to overestimate the mobilizing force of specific formulation of the task of programmatic significance: ensuring that the country reach the world level of social labor productivity (which, incidentally, some scientists have managed to eliminate in terms of socialism both from the practical and the scientific viewpoints!). The authors of the letters to the editors show their understanding and approval of the concept of the need for a certain reorientation of public consciousness and the mastery by all working people of truly innovative and profoundly creative party conclusions and stipulations and the frank and intimate words by Comrade K. U. Chernenko: "Obviously, it will be necessary not only to complete but to redo a few things."

The editors received a great deal of mail in response to the article by M. Solomentsev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee chairman "With High-Level Exigency" (No 15). K. Arutyunov, scientific worker in Moscow, notes that "it is of great scientific and practical interest. Based on Leninist principles of the organization of control and supervision of execution, it provides a profound study of the activities of control bodies and indicates specific ways of improving the work."

Some readers express their views on the questions raised on the part of the article which discusses the need to improve the education of cadres in the spirit of high exigency, principle-mindedness and communist morality, and enhancing the title of party member higher. "The CPSU Bylaws," points out V. Kolinchenko, fitter and member of the shop party bureau at the Sibtekstil'mash Plant (Novosibirsk), makes it incumbent upon every party member boldly to expose shortcomings, work for their elimination and report them to the party bodies, including the CPSU Central Committee. Naturally, however, before writing to superior party and other bodies, it is important to try to resolve such problems locally. The true communists join the struggle openly, should this be required by the interests of the project and society. However, is there a place in the party's ranks for those who remain passive for the sake



of not spoiling relations with their superiors, who fear openly engaging in principle-minded criticism at party and worker meetings? Their indifference and cowardice prevent us from putting an end to irresponsibility, theft and abuses of official position faster."

V. Kuzbekov (Ufa) writes of the need to improve organization of control from below: "Why is it that frequently the work level of the enterprise, organization or entire collective depends almost entirely on a single person--its manager? If the chief is honest, principle-minded and efficient, the work goes well and the people are satisfied. But then there is a management change and another official takes over in Office No 1. He may turn out to have different management "methods" and "principles": he may concentrate above all on his own well-being and only then on anything else; he may rally around himself people he likes and gradually get rid of those he finds unsuitable, by seemly or unseemly means; he may substitute eyewashing for true work. "We have no real boss," we complain.... No boss?! The boss, however, remains the same--the working person, who is the true and legitimate boss of the plant, the construction project, the land, the entire country. Why is it that sometimes he is not too much in a hurry to exercise his right in daily practical life?" According to the author, to the extent to which "a manager has a greater power to rule and manage," "control from below must have greater rights as well, including legal ones, supporting the practical possibility of its full and effective exercise." It is particularly important, he emphasizes, comprehensively to enhance the role of the primary party organizations, so that they may systematically exercise their right to control administrative activities.

On the occasion of the forthcoming elections for local Soviet bodies, the readers point out the importance of the application in their activities of the Leninist principle of unity of legislative, managerial and control activities. Labor and war veteran P. Svetlov (Ryazan) recalls that during the first years of collectivization he worked as secretary of one of the rural soviets in Moscow Oblast and the important problems which he had to resolve at that time. Now, he points out, despite the familiar decrees, the role of soviets has been lowered in some areas; the party's leadership of the soviets is not sufficiently purposeful and systematic. The soviets must be "enhanced." Better conditions for their work and exercise of supervisory functions must be provided, the more so since at the present stage they face important and largely new problems related to the development of the agroindustrial complex and the social reorganization of our villages and hamlets.

Many of the materials sent to the editors discuss problems of the further intensification of our economy. Dr of Economic Sciences N. Sachko (Minsk) emphasizes that today obtaining more effective types of raw materials and materials and use of economical technologies is of great importance. He believes that the development of low-energy and energy-saving technologies is an essentially important feature and a most important reserve for scientific and technical progress.

V. Koryukin, S. Rozin, V. Chizhevskiy and Ya. Shchelokov, associates at the USSR Academy of Sciences Ural Scientific Center, write that energy is a complex feature of technological processes, not to mention the fact that the



energy budget of society is, to a certain extent, a measure of its production possibilities and that objective logic requires the study of energy used in industrial output. In their view, it would be expedient to rate the quality of all production activities and the level of perfection of one technology or another "on the basis of overall energy outlays for the production of equal amounts of socially necessary products and specific energy outlays per unit of output." The authors believe that such a study offers major advantages in long-term economic planning, for it is unrelated to the current price-setting system, which is quite vulnerable to criticism. "Finding the 'reading point' and developing a reliable objective system for assessing the variants in the development of industrial technologies and the extent of their advantage to society," they write, "is one of the most important tasks. The absence of such an assessment hinders the comprehensive approach to economic development. It prevents us from building efficient mathematical models and the full application of modern computers. Therefore, the use of energy analysis in planning provides new opportunities for perfecting production management." We can only agree with the authors in that "the further development and utilization of energy studies, expanding the statistics of power consumption and a correlated determination of energy outlays could become an important tool in perfecting public production, both in terms of its individual sectors and the national economy as a whole."

Issue No 9 of the journal carried the article "Nature of Contradictions in the Socialist Economy and Means of Resolving Them," by Dr of Economic Sciences V. Kulikov. This article triggered a large number of responses. According to Leningrader A. Rodigin, this article "constitutes a philosophical foundation for perfecting the economic mechanism," proving that "increasing the scale of the socialist economy offers extensive opportunities for resolving contradictions on a scientific basis." A. Shumilov (Ivanovo) was impressed by the "nontraditional formulation of the problem and the efficient substantiation of the concepts it develops." He discusses the difficulties which arise as a result of the contradiction between the planned nature of the economy and the random nature of consumption," bearing in mind the occasionally unpredictable 'fashionability' of some consumer and other items, which is not always taken promptly into consideration and accompanied by an efficient restructuring of the production process.

Many of the letters include remarks addressed to the article's author. For example, P. Smirnov (Volgograd) considers that the nature of contradictions between production forces and production relations should have been analyzed more profoundly than the author had done: he emphasizes that the development of the latter is greatly influenced by imperfections in the organization of production, planning and management and the organization and incentive of labor and its quantitative and qualitative assessment. "Perfecting socialist production relations is a global task. The interests of socialism demand purposeful and systematic work on its solution and the creation of conditions which would direct us toward the 'self-perfection' of such relations." V. Ledenev (Polotsk) says that "the author only mentions that the question of the basic contradiction of socialism should be fully clarified, without making any effort to do so."

Bearing in mind not only V. Kulikov's article but also other materials published in the press on this problem, party and labor veteran V. Belov (Moscow) complains that occasionally the authors "do not make constructive suggestions on the optimal expression of inherent contradictions in the socialist economy" in terms of one economic sector or another. "It seems to me," he writes, "that Comrade K. U. Chernenko, in his address at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the fact that "today a comprehensive study must be made of the nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism and the features of their solution," meant, above all, that on the basis of the theory of the ways of resolving inherent contradictions along with the development of the socialist political economy, our economists should make the necessary contribution to the solution of applied economic problems as well." In discussing some of them, V. Belov indicates, in particular, the fact that the organization of the socialist competition still includes many anachronistic and formal elements, and that "in the course of the competition maximal attention should be paid to the dissemination of the best work methods."

The readers legitimately relate improvements in production quality and reduced labor outlays and production costs to economic intensification. These problems affect both production workers and political economists. Muscovite V. Zamalin, honorary member of the scientific and technical society of the machine-building industry, speaks of the role of production specialization and cooperation as a major prerequisite for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity and reduction in production costs. He writes, in particular, about the advantages which could be derived from the creation of "specialized production facilities for servicing machine-building enterprises"--instrument, packaging, repair and other types of plants.

Candidate of Economic Sciences B. Tsypkalov (Volgograd) writes on the economic nature of production costs, an indicator the importance of which in terms of upgrading production profitability and assessing economic activities was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. He regrets that so far, as a result of the lack of a "firm theoretical foundation" each sector has its own largely disparate methods for assessing production costs; he discusses in particular the quantitative components of a given indicator which, in his view, should have a growing impact on reducing labor outlays, both past and present, and on the economy and rational utilization of raw material, fuel-energy and other resources and the need to contribute, one way or another, to perfecting the economic mechanism.

The question of the interrelationship between industry and trade is discussed in many of the materials addressed to the editors. Equal partnership should exist between them, as discussed in the article by Ya. Orlov, which was carried in Issue No 11 of the journal. N. Desyatnikov, chief of the trade administration of the Voronezh Oblast executive committee, emphasizes the fact that such partnership should contribute to meeting growing consumer demand and the steadily increasing population requirements, as the market becomes saturated with goods, in terms of their quality, reliability, convenient use, aesthetic presentation and timely renovation of variety. We know, he writes, that the new model of a given commodity is more labor-intensive at the

start of the production process but that subsequently, the longer it is produced the more profitable it becomes for the enterprise. However, frequently its production is not stopped on time although demand for such a commodity declines sharply or even virtually disappears! The reason is that the model has been "worked out," technological lines do not need retuning and intrashift working time losses have been reduced to a minimum.... For the stores this means trouble: they become loaded with unsaleable goods and both the state and the customer lose. "Industry is unresponsive to the demand of trade that it produce items in small series.... It does not listen to the requests of stores and customers as it continues to produce goods, clothing, for example, with complex and unfashionable finishing which, however, guarantees the enterprises an 'easier' life by raising the wholesale and retail prices of such items."

Reader V. Chukarina (USSR Ministry of Trade) believes that Ya. Orlov's article essentially gives no more than a "clear picture" of the situation in trade and industry but that "recommendations are frequently not delineated; they look like shy outcrops; more specific suggestions should be addressed to the competent authorities! Possibly I may not have understood entirely correctly the author's statement to the effect that each enterprise, regardless of specialization, should make its contribution to increasing commodity resources. If it is a question of consumer goods, I know from personal experience that not each plant or factory could achieve this. The population needs goods with high consumer qualities. In many cases it is only a specialized enterprise with suitable material facilities, cadres consisting of true masters and its own artistic council which could manufacture the type of item which could fully satisfy even the most demanding customer."

One of the responses to the KOMMUNIST publications was a letter by Prof V. Inyushin, honored inventor of the Kazakh SSR (Alma-Ata), in which he comments on the article by S. Yeger "Transportation for Siberia" (No 10): "No, dirigibles are not needed for transportation purposes alone. They could serve well Siberian and Kazakh agriculture. According to the author, they could be used to spread chemical fertilizers over millions of hectares of land, to spread agents controlling plant growth and development and, in many cases, deliver animal feed to distant pastureland.... One can only agree with the conclusion drawn in the article to the effect that we must as of now extensively develop designing and series production of dirigibles."

The article "Latest Tasks of Soviet Geography" by N. Agafonov, V. Anuchin and S. Lavrov (No 5, 1983) triggered a number of letters. The explanation is that today geography is not "dead," for the reason that "everything in it has been discovered and described," but that it has acquired new qualities, becoming a truly basic science; increasingly "global" human activities, which now cover the most important problems of the territorial organization of the individual rayon, oblast or republic, as well as entire countries and the planet, are becoming subjects of its comprehensive studies and development. Its current accomplishments and recommendations in the formulation of optimal and comprehensively weighed plans for industrial and other types of construction, development of land reclamation, etc., which require the comprehensive consideration of all economic, ecological and social consequences, are becoming increasingly important and useful. A special survey of editorial



mail on this problem, which is being prepared for publication, will deal with these and other conceptual and ideological aspects of the science of geography discussed in the readers' letters and articles.

I. Kutyurin, retired colonel, engineer and Patriotic War veteran, was interested in problems of "optimizing the interaction between society and nature" in connection with the scientific and technical revolution. He believes that the problem can be resolved by combining the growing influence of man on nature with concern for it and the protection and reproduction of the natural environment and resources. The author emphasizes the importance of "reorganizing the uncontrolled influence on nature into conscious, purposeful and planned developing interaction with it." The socialist society, which has at its disposal the latest scientific data, he points out, can successfully resolve many vital problems such as, for example, the development of wasteless and waterless technological systems, and the use of biological, microbiological and biophysical methods of fighting diseases, pests and weeds rather than pesticides in agriculture.

Reader D. Sologub (Kiev) turns to the respective article in the USSR Constitution which discusses the need for the increasing participation of the citizens in management. Today the solution of this problem in industry is increasingly assisted by the extensive application of the brigade form of labor organization, the contracting system and the councils of brigade leaders established on a voluntary basis. The latter, he emphasizes, "enable us to develop the best possible permanent and effective feedback within the enterprise management system."

The authors of letters and manuscripts received by the editors, such as Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Klimentov (Leningrad), engineer S. Kravets (Zaporozhye), worker A. Yusupov (Tashkent), Dr of Technical Sciences O. Tot'skiy (Moscow) and others, discuss the various economic and social aspects of the brigade form of organization of labor in industry, construction and agriculture. They point out that the changes which parallel it in the areas of moral and material incentives serve the cause of perfecting the economic mechanism and strengthening discipline and organization and enhancing the prestige of the working person. However, shortcomings and unresolved problems also remain, such as, for example, the grave problem of improving the training of brigade leaders, for under contemporary conditions the captains of industry are both its organizers and educators of labor collectives, as well as tutors of the young worker replacements; they are also responsible, among others, for upgrading the role of cost accounting in the struggle for improving end labor results, developing a creative spirit and promoting a healthy moral and psychological climate. This means, the readers note in their letters, that party and Komsomol work must be definitely restructured with a view to providing better ideological support in the implementation of brigade production plans.

S. Goreslavskiy (Stavropol), corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, who discusses the presentation in scientific and methodical literature of problems of shaping the moral-psychological climate in the labor collective, believes that it is wrong that the "production principle and the actual attitude of the people toward the work are, as a



rule, virtually ignored by researchers." Attention is usually focused on "traditional interpersonal relations and the qualities of the collective's manager." "The main factor in uniting the collective," he emphasizes, "was and remains the practical (production) project in the course of the implementation of which sociopersonality relations must be shaped and a healthy moral and psychological climate established."

A number of letters to the editors discuss the need to increase the party's influence directly in labor collectives and the educational importance of the personal "ideological" and "disciplining" example set by the party member. In particular, G. Buvalyy, engineer and chairman of the method council at the Pripyat city party committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine, believes that it is above all "precisely among CPSU members that the basic principle of socialism 'from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work' should be implemented to the fullest extent. In this case the party member must be on the level of the requirements and work with total dedication and responsibility."

As in the past, the editorial mail contains a number of communications on strengthening discipline and organization. Their authors describe the way one production collective or another has been able to strengthen discipline, to create an atmosphere of reciprocal exigency and mutual aid and to involve the working people in active creative participation in the socialist competition. This is the topic of M. Yermakov, CPSU member since 1964, employed as an engineer at the Shakhtinskaya Mine (Karaganda Oblast). He describes the way, largely thanks to the extensive work done by the shop party organization, the third extraction mine sector emerged in a leading position. Order and organization prevail here and per capita output has reached 650 to 700 tons of coal per month; as many as 10,000 rubles are saved monthly as a result of reduced production costs. Thanks to the use of the latest equipment and rationalization suggestions labor productivity is continuing to increase.

"The strictest observance of planning, technological and labor discipline is becoming an increasingly necessary prerequisite for the implementation of production assignments, improving the quality of output and ensuring the rational utilization of material and manpower resources," emphasizes Candidate of Philosophical Sciences O. Kosenko in his article. He is certain that "the additional rights independently to resolve a number of problems in its activities, granted to a collective in accordance with the broad-scale economic experiment under way in the country, and ensuring a greater dependence by workers on end results will increase their interest in observing discipline even further." The need for persistent and constant efforts to provide better organizational-economic and other conditions for highly productive toil is discussed by Leningrader V. Kryutchenko. Ye. V'yunov (Vladimir), director of the Avtopribor Production Association, who supports the views expressed in Yu. Demin's article "Procurement Discipline" (No 13), regrets that the question of consolidating procurements has still not been properly solved: "Last summer, for example, we suggested to Soyuzglavavtosel'mash to ship goods to Sel'khoztekhnika enterprises from its specialized marketing bases in republics, krays and oblasts. The suggestion was rejected. Many other consumers do not agree with the system of consolidated procurements (in containers), for which reason we are forced to

ship out almost always single items parcel post.... This is troublesome and expensive to the state. Urgent problems of marketing finished products should become the concern of interested ministries and departments who should display a greater...interest!"

Journalist N. Frolov (Togliatti) raises a serious question in his letter, as follows: "On the instructions of the party gorkom propaganda and agitation department, last year I was asked to prepare a survey of plant newspapers in the city dealing with the topic of labor discipline. My attention was drawn to the section entitled 'Communist Discipline--A Daily Norm' in the newspaper VOLZHSKIY AVTOSTROITEL'. It presented the matter as though this had been achieved.... No, this slogan does not agree with reality. To assume that today's level of social consciousness is already consistent with communist discipline means to anticipate events. Let us recall V. I. Lenin, who counseled mistrust of hasty anticipation, pointing out, in particular, that the new discipline is being developed by millions of working people and that this matter would cover an entire historical age." N. Frolov writes that he shared these considerations with the editor of the plant newspaper and the gorkom personnel who did not support him.... "This 'anticipating' section (in the newspaper of a plant in which violations of discipline and law and order have been so numerous as to be noted with concern by our central press) is continuing to 'operate'...."

The readers emphasize the importance of systematic and painstaking efforts to upgrade the political knowledge of the Soviet citizens and the further advancement of ideological and educational work in the spirit of the resolutions of the June 1983 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the documents of the recently held all-union practical science conference on the implementation of party stipulations related to problems of ideological activities.

The letters and articles mention that we must always be well-familiar with and have a feeling for the specific situation and bear in mind the interconnection between ideology and economics. We must take into consideration the characteristics of the various population strata. The readers share their thoughts on ideological education work conducted among secondary and higher school students and young workers, also in connection with the fuller practical implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on further improving the party's leadership of the Komsomol and upgrading its role in the communist education of the youth. Yu. Zinov'yev (Kirov) emphasizes that the party's main objective is to mold a comprehensively developed and spiritually rich individual with developed creative capabilities. He read this formulation of the main objective in a PRAVDA article and believes that it could be included in the draft of the new CPSU program as well.

Art expert Yu. Kotin (Kirov) shares his views on how to "upgrade to a new level the political, moral and aesthetic awareness of Soviet women." It is necessary, he writes, to proceed from a consideration of their age group features, nature of their occupation and family status. "It turns out that many women are unprepared for a future family life. Some young mothers are totally ignorant of the science of child rearing. They deem it degrading to attend pedagogical knowledge universities or to listen to teachers'

advice...." He also states that "there must be a woman within the woman.... Is it not worth it, for this reason, to review the list of professions and skills to avoid, for example, for a member of the 'weaker sex' be engaged in heavy physical labor along a railroad track wielding a heavy hammer."

The editors are receiving an increasing number of articles, notes and essays on the approaching noteworthy date--the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. Dr of Historical Sciences V. Muradyan (Yerevan), a war veteran, analyzes in his article the components for the successes achieved by the battle and labor commonwealth of the peoples of the USSR in the liberation of temporarily occupied territories. "The leadership of fascist Germany did not take into consideration or underestimated the moral and political spirit of the army and the people and their cohesion with the Leninist communist party. The leaders of the Third Reich particularly relied on the weakness of the Soviet multinational state, assuming that they would be able to pit the non-Russian nations against their elder brother--the great Russian people. They were mistaken. The national policy of the CPSU not only withstood the severe trial but was enriched with a new content."

The readers describe participants in the war and their military exploits. Using a variety of printed sources, letters and archive files, Muscovite G. Krutikov describes the clandestine activities of Alfred Jung, the German antifascist and GDR national hero, who was executed by the fascists in a hard labor prison 40 years ago; he also describes one of his fellow veterans, now a healthy CPSU veteran, former military physician N. Aseyev.

Another feature covered in the mail is that of the responsibility of the artist who undertakes works on military-patriotic topics. "Our people, who suffered to achieve their victory have the right to demand of writers and poets who write about the war to be objective and competent; ignorance, not to mention lack of restraint, are entirely inadmissible in this matter." These are lines from the letter by war veteran and Lenin Prize laureate V. Perov (Mowcow). Unfortunately, he points out, "degrading forgeries" are frequently encountered. Thus, in the section "Victory Celebration" (No 5, 1982), the journal ZNAMYA published the poem "Legless" by N. Dmitriyev. This invalid, the poet writes, "stands pure in the eyes of his generation" ("his" generation only?). "From his suffering at that time the soil came to his knees" (an insulting analogy becomes immediately obvious). "The poet drags his trolley," "carrying him quietly and gently," while he "swims on the asphalt," hurrying "along the bottom of the shaken-up trench and the small, hastily dug graves." It turns out that "he has come to look at us...." (Did he not, however, live with his own people for the past 40 years?), etc. This poem, V. Perov writes, has good thoughts and lines, and as many things which are simply inaccurate or even border on tactlessness, who could insult the soldier's human dignity.

Here is another consideration: many poetic books and anthologies on the war were published 40 years ago. Is it not time to "plan and publish an Anthology of Works of Nonprofessional Poets--Frontline Veterans? Let us recall how many impressive poems they wrote were printed in their time in the front-line newspapers and even in the central press."



The editors continue to receive letters from foreign readers as well. Thus, Vienna resident J. von Haiti sent a poem on the events of the war and the postwar period.

"This poem," the author writes in Russian, "exposes the plans of the true and unpunished organizer of the war--international capital. The war was planned after the failure of the Entente campaign, as a step aimed against the liberation march of the proletariat.... Capital was the motor which put the Nazi Hitler in power in order to destroy the masses which threatened capitalism in Germany and beyond it, in the Soviet Union in particular. Capital...is the organizer and motor of all the tension and aggressive Western postwar policy. That same capital is an active organizer leading us to a third world war. It does not care about the tens of millions of casualties of World War II, which it anticipated, hoped for and brought about. Today as well, in the age of computers and automation, it remains indifferent to the hundreds of millions of casualties of a third world war into which it is pushing the world. It thinks (as in the past) only of how to protect itself and sees the war as its salvation.

"There is no enmity among people! There is none! NONE!! It is artificially promoted by all possible means by adventurers at the feet of capitalism. Why am I writing of this? This poem is dedicated to the fighters against fascism in World War II, to whom saving the world was the incentive which lead them into the ranks of the resistance. Today the activities of the CIA and the U.S. military are coming closer in terms of inhumanity to the intentions and actions of the SS and the Wehrmacht. This is a fact! Taking the approaching danger into consideration, this poem-reminder is today more topical than ever....

"My justification is less the desire to be published," concludes J. von Haiti, "than the desire to raise the forces which would expose rising fascism and to rally the people to oppose and counteract war, fascism and capitalism."

Articles and essays in the section "Fiery Fighters for Communism," "Pages From the Struggle" and "The Historical Memory of the People," always trigger the gratitude of the readers. "Thank you for Ernst Thalmann's letter published in No 17," writes party and labor veteran V. Belov. "I believe that such articles should be printed more frequently in separate pamphlets and, with proper comments, carried by KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA and other youth publications. The heart and the mind of anyone entering life cannot remain unaffected after reading Thalmann's letter, this truly experienced human document, without lighting in his soul the eternal flame of class convictions and readiness, if necessary for self-sacrifice in the defense of the ideas and gains of the October Revolution."

Responses are also continuation to arrive to A. Latyshev's article "Lenin's Swiss Friend" (No 6). Retired Lt Col D. Chichin, from Kiev, CPSU member since 1931, was interested in the "description of Fritz Platten's extensive efforts to set up a Swiss agricultural commune not far from Sibirsk." As a native of that area and with the help of the editors D. Chichin got in touch with the article's author for additional details. The fate of Platen's communes also interested Val'ter (Sverdlovsk) and other readers. We use this opportunity to



report that information on this is found in the article by O. Svetsitskaya "Swiss Communes in V. I. Lenin's Homeland," which was published in the journal ISTORIYA SSSR (No 2, 1970). Reader S. Zelenin (Petrozavodsk) believes that Platten's outstanding life should be of interest to our cinematographers: "What an interesting and necessary motion picture this would make!" Judging by the letter, its author had in mind a feature film which, indeed, has not been made. However, several years ago our documentary filmmakers did make a film on this Swiss internationalist--"The Red Devil"--which is still being shown.

Most of the letters on problems of the history and contemporary development of the global revolutionary movement were received by the editors after the publication of the articles "Specific Actions for the Sake of Strengthening Peace" (No 8) and "Revolutionary Transformations in the World and Their Reasons" (No 16), by B. Ponomarev, "The Year of Marx and the Ideological Struggle" (No 10), by M. Mchedlov, "Tangible Lesson in Revolutionary Creativity" by V. Mushinskiy (in which he analyzes the experience of the Portuguese revolution) and the editorial "Topical Problems of the Study of Capitalism" (No 8). The readers were particularly excited by the content and trends in the development of the general crisis of capitalism and its different stages and manifestations. In particular, Candidate of Technical Sciences A. Zakharov (Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast) shares his thoughts on the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the capitalist economy, its social structure, political superstructure and awareness of the working people. We agree with his suggestion on the expediency of a knowledgeable study of the role of the scientific and technical revolution as a revolutionizing factor, to be presented in subsequent journal issues.

Letters are the most important channel in the live contacts between the journal and its readers and one of the most valuable sources of information. Naturally, the limitations of a survey do not allow a detailed study of the entire volume of mail received over a half-a-year period, but only a purposeful and selective presentation of some of them. However, references, suggestions and remarks contained in the entire volume of mail received help the editors to realize more clearly the positive features and shortcomings in their work and to publish materials on problems of interest to the readers.

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